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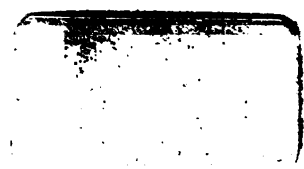
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THE
JOURNAL
OF
THE
ROYAL
ANTHROPOLOGICAL
INSTITUTE
VOLUME
LXXV
PART
I
1945

Fleming
1913

THE
Martyrs & Confessors
OF
ST ANDREWS

BY
David
D. HAY FLEMING ^c

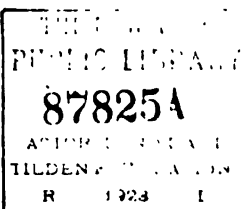
*"That which hath been is now; and that
which is to be hath already been; and God
requireth that which is past."*

—SOLOMON.

CUPAR: "FIFE HERALD" OFFICE

1887

V.S.



PREFACE.

The following sketches appeared during the last six months in the columns of the *Fife Herald*, the *St Andrews Citizen*, and the *Fife News*. Although necessarily written in a somewhat popular manner, pains were taken to ascertain the facts, and to state them correctly ; and all have been carefully revised ere thrown off in this more permanent form. As ninety-five years elapsed before Paul Caw was followed to the stake by another Martyr in Scotland, it seemed advisable to present a brief outline of that period, in the beginning of the chapter on Patrick Hamilton. Perhaps the account there given of Patrick Graham should have formed the substance of a separate article. As Walter Myln suffered only thirty years after Hamilton, it was impossible to prevent overlapping ; but needless repetition has been scrupulously shunned.

D. H. F.

ST ANDREWS, 14th May, 1887.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION — SCOTLAND UNDER THE	
PAPACY, ...	1
PAUL CRAW, ...	19
PATRICK HAMILTON,.	28
ALESIVS, ...	70
ALEXANDER SEATON, ...	90
HENRY FORREST, ...	100
JOHN FYFE, ...	107
GAVIN LOGIE, ...	109
SIR JOHN BORTHWICK, ...	110
JOHN ROGER, ...	131
GEORGE WISHART, ...	133
JOHN ROUGH, ...	172
GEORGE WINCHESTER, ...	190
WALTER MYLN, ...	194
APPENDIX, ...	201

THE CASTLE OF ANTWERP.



THE
Martyrs and Confessors
OF
ST ANDREWS.

INTRODUCTION—

SCOTLAND UNDER THE PAPAOCY.

"The Paip, that pagane full of pryde,
He hes us blindit lang;
For quhair [i.e., where] the blind the blind dois gyde,
Na wonder thay ga wrang:
Lyke prince and king he led the ring
Of all iniquitie."

Gude and Godlie Ballates.

It is very difficult to realise what Scotland was so many centuries ago. To most people "distance lends enchantment to the view." The heroic courage and self-denying patriotism stand out so prominently that the dark background is not scrutinized. A tinge of picturesqueness is imparted to the old barbarity and roughness, until they seem to be closely—if not essentially—allied with that spirit of indomitable bravery and stern independence, over which the imagination loves to linger. No country has greater cause to be proud of its heroes and the hosts which they led, for they were so imbued with the love of liberty that they might have been exterminated, but they could not be subdued. Not only was "the proud usurper" baffled; but the hatred to "oppression's woes and pains" was so intense that the serfdom of the agricultural class, which prevailed all over Europe,

died out first in Scotland. To the end of time, no true Scotsman shall ever hear the strains of

"Scots, wha hae wi Wallace bled,"

without feeling his inmost soul stirred within him.

During a great part of the four centuries in which the Romish Church was established in Scotland, there was perhaps no other country which acknowledged the Pope's authority and esteemed it so lightly. William the Lion was excommunicated, and the kingdom interdicted, by the Pope, in 1181, because of a dispute concerning the bishopric of St Andrews. One of the fearful effects of the interdict was that masses could not be said for the souls in Purgatory ! and so, they were allowed to "burn and bis," for the obitancy of others ! But William was inexorable ; and, in the words of Lord Hailes, the next Pope was reconciled to him, by making "that his deed which was the king's will." Alexander the Second and his whole kingdom were also excommunicated, in 1216 ; but so little was this sentence regarded that almost a year passed before it was published. And Alexander the Third and his clergy stoutly opposed both the Pope and his legate. But it was during the struggles of Robert the Bruce for the independence of the nation, that the independence of the Church was manifested most clearly. Though Bruce had been excommunicated in 1306, for the slaughter of Comyn in a church, yet, in 1309, the clergy issued a declaration to the effect that they had willingly done him homage as their sovereign. Lamberton of St Andrews and the other eleven bishops adhered to this manifesto. And a few years later, "through the national sympathies of the faithful clergy, it came to pass that no hostile documents from Rome could be legitimately served in Scotland." While this opposition to the Papal supremacy was mainly due to the love of independence, it was also partly owing to the insular position of the country and its distance from Rome. Perhaps, the latter

cause was not altogether an advantage, for Luther's eyes were opened when he visited the City on the Seven Hills. It is somewhat surprising that he was not anticipated by some representative Scotsman, possessing the proverbial "gumption" and love of travel. Many of the Scots, who found their way to Rome long before his time, went to purchase privileges or promotion at the Papal Court, and as they were sure to succeed by paying enough, they could not be expected to bring home an evil report. It does not appear that, at its worst, the Church of Scotland was "so debased by superstition and sunk in utter profligacy as some of the Continental Churches." Yet, for centuries, it was bad enough; and as communication with other countries became more frequent, and, as the wealth of the clergy increased, it waxed worse and worse, until the ignorance and depravity that pervaded all classes of the community were truly appalling.

That a woeful state of corruption prevailed immediately before the Reformation is well known. Sir David Lyndsay, of the Mount, and John Knox have so graphically portrayed the times of James the Fifth, that there is no danger of their being altogether forgotten. And William Dunbar, the Scottish Chaucer, a court poet and a priest, has faithfully reflected the coarseness and immorality of the reign of James the Fourth. When that monarch, says Thomas Campbell, "was breaking lances in the lists of chivalry, and when the court, and court poets of Scotland, might be supposed to have possessed ideas of decency, if not of refinement, Dunbar at that period addresses the Queen, on the occasion of having danced in Her Majesty's chamber, with jokes which a beggar wench of the present day would probably consider as an offence to her delicacy." Although the "Dance in the Queen's Chamber" is far from being the most outrageous

production of his muse, the poet was certainly not coarser than his age. The corruption, however, was widespread and deep, long before the days of the impetuous king, who fell on Flodden's fatal field.

Many historians regard the period of the long truce between Scotland and England, the century following the treaty between William the Lion and Richard Cœur de Lion, in 1189, as the golden age of Scotland. Wyntoun records that, during the reign of Alexander the Third, who lost his life at Kinghorn in 1286,

"A bolle off atys pennys foure
Of Scottys monie past noucht oare;
A boll off here for awcht or ten
In comowne prys sawid was then;
For sextene a boll off qwhete,
Or for twenty, the derth was grete."

Oats at fourpence, bere at eightpence, and wheat at sixteenpence the boll, were certainly cheap; but money was not so abundant then, for the annual salary of the Chancellor of Scotland was only £100. In judging, however, of even the material prosperity of a country, more things have to be taken into account than the price of provisions, and immunity from war. In the history of a free country, no period, in which the serfs—a large proportion of the population—were sold with the land, can be characterised as its golden age! Lord Hailes has said that it was "a blessed period," and so it undoubtedly was, when compared with the times which went before and came after it; but, he speaks of the people as "fierce and undisciplined," and of the age as "rude and licentious." And Hill Burton has said that "Scotland, during the long truce, seems one of the best examples to be found of the social condition admired by a recent poet, as 'the good old rule,' 'the simple plan,'

"That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

The old chronicler, in the *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, speaking of the troublous times a century after the unfortunate death of Alexander the Third, says :—"In those days was no law in Scotland ; but the great man oppressed the poor man, and the whole kingdom was one den of thieves. Slaughters, robberies, fire-raising, and other crimes went unpunished, and justice was sent into banishment, beyond the kingdom's bounds." This statement does not stand alone, for the *Acts of Parliament* bear that a Council General, held at Stirling, in 1397, considered "the grete and horrible destruccions, heryschippis, brynyngis, and slachteris that ar sa commounly done throu al the kynrike." What a contrast between those and our peaceful times !

Let us look more particularly now at the Church itself. Queen—or Saint—Margaret, who began to transform the Scottish Church, died in 1093 ; but the work was earnestly carried on by her three kingly sons, Edgar, Alexander, and David, who, like her, were eager to fashion it after the English Church. Bishops and monks were accordingly imported from the south, and so ardent was David to complete the work, that he left little to Anglicise. "So thorough was this ecclesiastical revolution," says Joseph Robertson, "that the Scottish Church was not so much reformed after the southern example, as gradually overgrown by an English Church transplanted to the northern hills, with its clergy, creeds, rites, and institutions." David only found three or four bishoprics in Scotland, but when he died in 1153 he left a dozen. Whether James the First ever described this saintly predecessor as "a sair sanct to the crown" may be questioned ; but he undoubtedly was so, and, what was much worse, he was "a sair sanct" to the country. Yet, it would be unjust to censure him for lavishing so much wealth on churches and monasteries,

as he acted up to his light, and did not foresee the mighty evils which ensued. John Major put the matter in a nut-shell, in 1531, when he said :—"It was primitive sanctity that brought forth wealth, but the mother was strangled by her wanton daughter." The corruption which soon began had assumed alarming proportions a century after David's death.

In his very able and elaborate Preface to the *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, Joseph Robertson, a most unprejudiced and impartial writer, says :—"One great evil, it will be seen, the incontinence of the priesthood, stands confessed, deplored, condemned through all the three centuries of Scottish ecclesiastical legislation. Here, as elsewhere throughout Western Christendom, every code of Provincial, every code of Synodal canons, calls, but calls in vain, upon the clergy to separate themselves from their 'concubines,' as they are styled—their 'wives' rather as we may charitably hope that in most cases they should have been regarded, but for the law which forbade the Churchman to marry. . . . At no time during the three hundred years which preceded the Reformation, does it appear that the Scottish bishops succeeded in making orders an indispensable qualification for a benefice. Synodal statutes in the thirteenth, Provincial statutes in the sixteenth century, alike confess that rectories and other offices of the Church were filled by men who had not even received the clerical character. We know otherwise—it is acknowledged and bewailed with grief and indignation by the best champions of the Church in her conflict with the Reformers—that rich livings, with the cure of thousands of souls, were held by boys, by infants even, by men deformed in body, imbecile in mind, hardened in ignorance, old in wickedness and vice." As all who have studied the subject know, these fearful charges—mainly drawn from the statutes of the err-

ing Church—are not overstated in the least. Little did the saintly David think, when he effectually established the celibacy of the clergy, as one of his “Roman reforms,” that it would lead to such unholy results. He never dreamt that an Augustinian prior might have ten children by different mothers, nor that the revenues of the Church would provide dowries for the bastards of bishops. His virtue would prevent him from suspecting that of the churchmen, and his enthusiasm would preclude the thought of infants or imbeciles holding office. Had he lived long enough to judge the tree by its pernicious fruits, would he not have been the first to cut it down?

Churchmen were divided into two great classes; to wit, the regulars and seculars. The regulars—who were so called because they lived under the *regula* or rule of some religious order, in a monastery or religious-house—comprehended monks, canons, and friars. The Benedictine monks branched off into Cluniac, Tyronensian, Cistercian, and Valliscaulium. All these, as well as the Augustinian canons—who differed from monks only in name—had monasteries in Scotland. The Knights Templars—a military monastic order with many settlements in this country—were suppressed on account of their wickedness in 1312; and most of their property passed into the hands of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, whose chief Scottish house was at Torphichen. The friars, who were a much later brood, came to Scotland in the thirteenth century. They professed poverty, practised beggary, and shortly before the Reformation some of them were famed as popular preachers. Their chief orders were the Dominicans or Black Friars, the Franciscans or Grey Friars, and the Carmelites or White Friars. There were few nunneries in Scotland; but the country was dotted with hospitals—at the city-gates, at ferries, and at mountain-passes—for

entertaining pilgrims and travellers, the poor and the sick. There were many grades of the secular clergy, ranging from the highest dignitaries down through the lordly bishops, deans, arch-deacons, and priests, to the more lowly officials.

In a parish church which retained its independent position the minister was known as a parson or rector, and drew all the tithes great and small. But when a church was bestowed on a monastic or cathedral body, that body was regarded as rector, and was entitled to the rectorial, or great tithes, while the vicar, who served the cure, received the small tithes. By this system, one set of men did the work, and another drew the wages. Churches appropriated to the bishop's maintenance were called mensal churches, and those devoted to the prebendaries residing at the cathedral were distinguished as common churches. In the single reign of William the Lion (1165—1214), thirty-four parish churches, besides a goodly roll of lands and baronies, forests and fishings, were bestowed on the Abbey of Arbroath. "Paisley had its thirty parish churches; Holyrood, twenty-seven; Melrose and Kelso, each as many; and to such an extent did this prevail, that in some districts two-thirds of the parish churches were in the hands of the monks." And so, an abbot or a bishop frequently held many parishes in property, and at the same time was entitled, as the legal parson, to their tithes and church dues. The lands and houses held in property were called the temporality, and the revenues from tithes and church dues were known as the spirituality. The rectorial tithes consisted of the tenth sheaf taken from the harvest field, while the vicarial tithes included the tenth of the hay, and of the yearly produce of the dairy, garden, and live-stock. To the vicars also belonged the offerings at feasts, and baptismal, marriage, funeral, and other dues. The vicar's share would

frequently have been the greater ; but the monastery or cathedral took care to make such a bargain with him, that he merely collected these tithes and dues, and received a scanty stipend for himself. The clergy thus heaped up wealth until, as Principal Lee says :—"The ecclesiastical property was nearly equal to one-half of the kingdom—the temporality having been little less than a fourth, and the spirituality, including the tithes, more than a fourth of the whole rent."

Some people would fain believe that the various orders in the Mediæval Church lived in holy harmony, peace, and love ; but that is quite a mistake. Goodall, in his *Dissertation on the Culdees*, says, that the disputes which they had with the bishops and canons were of the same kind as "the bishops and canons had pretty frequently among themselves, about money, lands, and privileges." It is known that, in 1268, the Abbot of Melrose, and a great part of his convent, were excommunicated for violating the sanctuary of Stow, by breaking into the houses of the Bishop of St Andrews, slaying a clerk, and wounding many others. And Cosmo Innes, who, by his special studies, has thrown much light on that period, states, that, "Amongst the innumerable disputes recorded between convents and their rural vicars, I believe there is not one that turns upon any question as to how the cure of souls was performed !"

Much has been said about the good which the country at large, as well as the "kindly-tenants" of the monastery, derived from the example of good husbandry shown by the monks ; but the good was far more than counter-balanced by the evils which flowed from the too extensive possession of lands by the Church. Much has also been said about the magnificent buildings, which were erected all over the country, and which were calculated to have a refining and elevating influence on the people. That the cathedrals and many of

The barren churches were most beautiful is quite true, but it should not be forgotten that they were sought after for a reason. One of the chief, if not the chief, means used for raising the necessary funds was the granting of indulgences. It would surely have been infinitely better, if remembering that "men are the temple of God," they had been as anxious to build up "a spiritual house" with "living stones." The gloating and elevating influence had but too traces of its power, supposed by some to have been so permeating. Indeed, the very designers of the churches seem to have lost all reverence for, if not all faith in, their religion. How else are the grotesque and incongruous details of their carving to be accounted for? They could not be intended to console the people, and their humour was surely out of place. For example, in the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, founded, under the Calton Hill, by Mary of Gueldres, a couple of apes were seen strangling a monk on the capital of one of the great pillars; while, in the words of Daniel Wilson, "its vaulting-shafts sprang from corbels fashioned into all manner of grotesque imps, leering masks, and caricatures of monks and friars, such as a jolly brother who looked out from one of the angles of the apse over the very site of the high altar, as if in purposed mockery of the mysteries enacted below." Could such representations assist the worshippers in their devotions? And what mattered it though the lordly clergy lived in palatial buildings, when the commons were so wretchedly housed? We have the testimony of Aeneas Sylvius, who was sent on a mission to James the First in 1435, and who afterwards became Pope Pius the Second. Although his visit was only 115 years before the Reformation, and though he was to have seen the country south of us yet he is quoted as saying: "The 10 walls, the houses are mostly built

without lime, they have roofs of turf in the towns, in the country an ox-hide serves for a door !”

In the time of William the Lion, the Abbey of Kelso had schools in Roxburgh, and Dunfermline Abbey had endowed schools at Perth ; and the schools of St Andrews seem to have been of note even so early as the reign of Alexander the First. But it was two centuries after William's death before the University of St Andrews—the first in Scotland—was founded, and it was many years later before it possessed any buildings of its own. There were schools scattered over the country long before the Reformation, but little is known as to what was taught in them. Probably, the elements of reading and grammar were the principal acquirements in the fifteenth century, except in cathedral cities, where singing and chanting were much in favour. The “sang-school” was often the forerunner of the grammar school. Before the invention of printing there was not, of course, much inducement to learn to read, and the task would be more difficult too. The earliest Scottish Education Act was not passed by Parliament till 1496. It ordained “that all barronis, and frehaldaris that ar of substance, put thair eldest sonnys and airis to the sculis, fra thai be aucht or nyne zeiris of age, and till remane at the grammer sculis, quhill [i.e., until] thai be competentlie foundit and have perfite Latyne. And thereftir to remane thre zenis at the sculis of art and jure, sua that thai may have knowlege and understanding of the lawis.” This laudable Act shows that there were few scholars in those days, when barons, and freeholders of substance, had to be compelled to send their eldest sons to school, and consequently that there were few schools. John Knox, who propounded his scheme in the *First Book of Discipline*, in 1560, was the first to insist that every parish should have a schoolmaster, and that men, in every

state and condition, should be "compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue."

Many people must have learned to read in Scotland before the Reformation, for as New Testaments and Lutheran books were smuggled into the country before Patrick Hamilton's martyrdom, there must have been a demand for them, and therefore people able to read them; and the Lollards had books long before that time. Not only so, but Sir David Lyndsay directed his rhyme "to colyearis, cairtaris, and to cukis, to Jok and Thome;" yet he had to protest against the absurdity of

"Nunnis and systeris nycht and day
Syngand and sayand Psalmes and Orisioun,
Nocht understanding quhat they syng nor say,
Bot lyke one Stirlyng or ane Papingay."

Nor would Gavin Douglas have translated Virgil into the vernacular unless there had been readers. Nevertheless, great ignorance prevailed. An Act of Parliament, in 1540, declares that, "the unhonestie and miereule of kirkmen, baith in witt, knowlege, and maneris, is the mater and caus that the kirk and kirkmen ar lychtlyit and contempnit!" That was six years before Cardinal Beaton was slain. Three years after his death, a General Convention and Provincial Council of the Church was held in Edinburgh, and the statutes then passed "were prefaced by a remarkable confession, that the root and cause of the troubles and heresies which afflicted the Church were the corruption, the profane lewdness, the gross ignorance of churchmen of almost all ranks!" Eighteen months later, another Provincial Council was held at Edinburgh, and the last canons passed by it "boast that by the help of the State, by the zeal and vigilance of the Church, the heresies which had recently infested divers parts of the realm, seemed now at length to be curbed and all but subdued. Yet it is confessed that the inferior clergy and the

prelates for the most part are not in the meanwhile sufficiently learned to instruct the people rightly in the Catholic faith, in things necessary to salvation, or to reclaim them from the path of error." It was a humbling confession, indeed, to admit that even most of the bishops were not learned enough to instruct the people! In order to make up for their deficiencies, provision was made for the publication and use of the work, which has since become so well known as Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism. It was to be read to the people in church, before high mass, when there was no sermon, by the rector, vicar, or curate, in his surplice and stole. These "holy garments" do not seem to have possessed any supernatural virtue, for "the clergy were enjoined to exercise themselves daily in reading it, lest their stammering or breaking down might move the jeers of the people." When the education of the clergy was so wretched, that of the people must have been truly lamentable. As the Bishop of Dunkeld, nearly a century after the introduction of printing, thanked God that he neither knew the Old Testament nor the New, it is not difficult to understand why the sermons of those times were so full of legendary tales about mediæval saints, the horrors of Purgatory, and the benefits of holy-water. Such preaching brought more grist to the mill.

Images of the saints were raised, and altars were built to their memory, requiring chaplains and choristers to attend them; and these were supported by the offerings and bequests of the devout. Sir David Lyndsay, after describing a great many of these images, and stating that there are a thousand more, says:—

"All thir on altare staitly standis,
Preltis cryand, for thare offerandis,
To quhome, we Commounis, on our knels,
Doith wjrschip all thir Imagereis;

In kirk, in queir, and in the closter,
 Prayand to thame our Pater Noster ;
 In pylgrimage from town to toun,
 With offerand, and with orisoun,
 To thame aye babland on our beidis,
 That thay wald help us in our neidis."

As each saint was identified with some special need, which he or she could gratify, those in distress knew exactly where and to whom they should apply.

"Sum to Sant Roche, with deligence,
 To saif thame frome the pestilence ;
 For thare teith, to Sanct Apollaine ;
 To Sanct Tredwell, to mend thare eine :
 Sum makis offrande to Sanct Eloye,
 That he thare hors may weil convoye ;
 Thay ryn, quhen thay half jowellis tynte,
 To seik Sanct Syth, or ever thay stynte ;
 And be Sanct Germane, to get remeid
 For maladels in to thare heid ;
 Thay bryng mad men, on fuit and horse,
 And byndis thame to Sanct Mongoe crose ;
 To Sanct Barbara thay cry full faste,
 To saif thame frome the thonder blaste :
 For gude novellis, as I heir tell,
 Sum takis thare gait to Gabriell ;
 Sum wyffis Sanct Margaret doith exhort
 In to thare byrth thame to support ;
 To Sanct Anthony, to saif the sow ;
 To Sanct Bryde, to keip calf and kow :
 To Sanct Bastien thay ryn and ryde,
 That from the schote he saif thare syde ;
 And sum, in hope to get thare hall,
 Rynnis to the auld rude of Kerrall."

It is highly probable that the old cross of Crail, referred to in the last line, is the one still preserved in the western passage of the parish church of that ancient burgh. Lyndsay wondered how men could ask help from images, whose colours were spoiled by "reik and rowst ;" which could neither help themselves nor their temples if assailed by fire ; which were dumb, deaf, and blind ; which might fall flat on the floor, and be unable to rise ; which were heedless though rats ran over them ; and which might break their necks and feel no pain. Why should men sing Psalms to them or bless them ? Were growing trees yielding fruit

yearly not to be more highly prized than "cuttill stocks wanting boith crope and rute?"

In speaking of the Church of Rome, Dr M'Crie remarks that:—"It may be safely said, that there is not one of its erroneous tenets, or of its superstitious practices, which was not either originally contrived, or afterwards accommodated, to advance and support some practical abuse." Yet one of the most terrible engines of Papal vengeance was sometimes profitably employed by the people. It was much cheaper to buy a letter of cursing for a plack, which endured for a year, and cursed all who looked over the dyke, than to keep a lazy boy to watch the corn, who required a fee of three shillings, a shirt, and a pair of shoes in the year. Although the priest could pray only in an unknown tongue, yet he could curse in vigorous Scotch. Standing up before the people on Sabbath, he would exclaim:—"Ane hes tynt a spurtill [*i.e.*, lost a parritch theel]. Thair is ane flail stollin from thame beyound the burne. The goodwyiff of the other syd of the gait hes tynt a horne spune. Goddis maleson and myne I geve to thame that knowis of this geyre, and restoris it not." The form of excommunication, or cursing, as it was called in Scotland, was very comprehensive and direct. A specimen of one in the vernacular has been preserved, which was appointed to be read four times a year, in the churches of the diocese of St Andrews. It is bad enough; but is quite eclipsed by another, which was fulminated against the Border reivers. There can be little doubt that our ancestors were thus familiarised and furnished with fearful curses and profane invectives to hurl at each other.

Great evils sprang from the extension of the Levitical prohibitions of inter-marriage, and the application of those prohibitions to the supposed relationships created through baptisms—that is, through god-fathers and god-mothers. Those who

wished to marry within the forbidden degrees had to obtain a Papal dispensation. The result of the system was most demoralizing, for Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews stated, in 1554, that such was the connexion between families in Scotland, that it was almost impossible to match two persons of good birth, who were not within the forbidden degrees; and that many married promising to secure the dispensation, but, instead of doing so, sought divorce or put away their wives, on the pretext of the want of dispensation, and the expense of procuring it. The editor of the *Liber Officialis Sancti Andree*, in speaking of the multiplication of the impediments to marriage, and the abominable system of dispensations, says:—"All decency was thrown aside. We have found women, of no mean condition, publishing their own shame, to entitle them to a separation from their husbands; and the Queen [of James the Fourth] herself setting the example of a divorce from a third husband, while her second was still alive. Unfortunately, there are materials to show that the immorality was not less in the lower classes, although their means did not allow them to obtain the sanction of the law and the Church."

Mortuaries were among the most common grievances before the Reformation. The corpse-present, the cow and the finest (umest) claiith, as well as the Pasch-offerings taken at Easter for the distribution of the sacraments, were at first free-will gifts; but they had become compulsory, and were enforced by cursing and debarring from the sacraments. Sir David Lyndsay, in his "Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis,"

"Which bursting on the early stage
 Branded the vices of the age
 And broke the keys of Rome,"

introduces a pauper, whose aged father and mother had both died within a day or two. They

had left him "ane meir that caryit salt and coill," and "thrie ky that was baith fat and fair." His misfortunes began by his laird claiming the mare as his herizeld, and the clergy completed his ruin by their exactions. He is made to say :—

"Our gude gray meir was bailltand on the feld,
And our Land's laird tuk her, for his hyreld,
The Vickar tuk the best cow be the held,
Incontinent, quhen [i.e., when] my father was deld.
And quhen the Vickar hard tel how that my mother
Was deld, fra hand, he tuke to him ane uther :
Then Meg, my wife, did murne baith evin, and morow,
Till at the last scho deit for verie sorow :
And quhen the Vickar hard tell my wyfe was dead,
The thrid cow he cleikit be the held.
Thair umest clayis, that was of rapploch gray,
The Vickar gart his Clark bear them away.
Quhen all was gane, I nicht mak na debeat,
Bot, with my bairns, past for till beg my meat."

Diligence asked him,

"How did the Parson? was he not thy gude freind?"

To which the Pauper replied,

"The Devil stick him! he curst me for my teind :
And halds me yit under that same proces,
That gart me want the sacrament at Pasche."

Even in the worst times, there were some noble men among the churchmen. There was a Kennedy, an Elphinstone, and an Adam; but men of that stamp were few and far between. The bulk of them were both godless and ignorant, as Pinkerton puts it, they cared more for one terrestrial beauty than for all the nine muses. The impoverished country had not only to sustain the swarms of these plunderers in luxurious idleness; but, as Cosmo Innes says, "the drain of money to Rome was enormous."

By comparing the state of Scotland before the Reformation with the times that have succeeded, we can best estimate the value of that great change, and our indebtedness to the intrepid martyrs, confessors, and reformers, who by God's blessing achieved it. In the opinion of Froude :—
—"If the Scots had remained as a nation under

similar spiritual trammels with the Irish, they would have come down into the modern world equally shrouded in misery—equally the despair of the statesman, the problem of the moralist.”



PAUL ORAW.

"Dark eclipse the earth then shrouded,
Lurid phantasms filled the air—
But the glorious sun, though clouded,
Shorn, and beamless, still was there!
Witness—many a faint forewarning,
Struggling through the night of crime—
Precursor of a second dawning—
Of the Gospel's noon-day prime."

Mrs Stuart Monteath.

Ever and anon, amid the dense darkness, some were raised to protest against the corruptions which disfigured and disgraced the Church. The earliest of these witnesses may only have objected to externals; but, as time rolled on, the eye became more penetrating, and the voice grew louder and clearer, until the demand for improvement was re-echoed over Europe, and the Reformation became an accomplished fact.

It is still a common, though erroneous, opinion that the principles of the Reformation were first introduced into Scotland by Patrick Hamilton, and that they were adopted by few of our countrymen until after his martyrdom. Unfortunately, little is known about his precursors in this land; but there is convincing evidence to show that the so-called heresies were welcomed by many in Scotland long before his time. The subject of this brief paper—a devoted foreigner—was brought to the stake in St Andrews, fully ninety-four years before Patrick Hamilton, and even he was not the first who suffered unto death in Scotland.

When, in 1329, the Pope granted that the kings of Scotland should be crowned and anointed by the bishops of St Andrews, he stipulated that the bishops should exact an oath from the sovereigns, binding them to strive to their utmost to root out of their kingdom all whom the Church should denounce as heretics. The stipulation may have

been prompted more by the fear that heresy might arise in this country, than by any actual outbreak; but such enactments die hard, for the obnoxious oath was not got rid of until the Union in 1707. When, in 1398, the unhappy Duke of Rothesay was appointed lieutenant to his father, Robert the Third, the Council General declared that he was to punish and restrain man-slayers, reivers, burners, and generally all mis-doers, "and specially cursit men heretikis." There can be little doubt that there were "heretics" in Scotland by that time.

Wiclif died on the 31st of December 1384, and it was not till the 4th of May 1415, that the Council of Constance ordered his books and his bones to be burned. The same Council condemned Huss and Jerome of Prague, who manifested much of Wiclif's spirit, and soon their faith was tried by fire. But from the ashes of Huss and Jerome, the Church of Bohemia rose like a phoenix; and, a few years later, she sent one of her sons to sow the good seed in this country. The persecution, however, which arose in England after Wiclif's death, scattered his disciples and drove some of them into Scotland, long ere the Council of Constance had assembled. Those who settled in Ayrshire came to be known as the Lollards of Kyle, hence Knox's designation of that district—"a receptacle of Goddis servandis of old."

Wyntoun, in recording that the Duke of Albany was appointed Governor of Scotland, after the death of Robert the Third, in 1406, says in his commendation that,

"He wes a constant Catholike;
All Lollard he hatyt and heretike."

As Wyntoun was a contemporary of Albany's, his testimony on this point is of much value; and he is not the only contemporary who refers to the Lollards of Scotland during that regency. Walter Bower, the Abbot of Inchcolm, who was born in 1385 and died in 1449, devotes a chapter

of his continuation of Fordun's *Scotichronicon* to the burning of James Resby, whom he describes as an English presbyter of the school of Wiclif. In all the three editions of Dr Grierson's *Designations of St Andrew*, it is stated that Resby was burned in this city; and a more recent work asserts on one page that he was burned at Perth, and on another at St Andrews! It is quite certain, however, that he suffered at Perth, and that his martyrdom took place in 1406 or 1407. Laurence of Lindores, "Inquisitor of wicked heresy," presided over the Council, which convicted him of forty heresies, of which the chief was, that the Pope is not the vicar of Christ. Little or nothing is known about him, except what his avowed enemies have chosen to record. Bower relates that Laurence confuted both Resby and his writings and burnt them to ashes. He acknowledges that the same heresies continued to be cherished in Scotland; but he says it was by some Lollards, who were inspired by the Devil, and to whom stolen waters were sweet, and bread eaten in secret was pleasant.

The mere fact of such a man as Laurence of Lindores having been appointed as Heretical Inquisitor shows that the reformed opinions were spreading in Scotland. Laurence was Abbot of Soone in 1411, and he was also one of the first professors in the University of St Andrews. At a Congregation of this University, in 1416, "it was enacted that all who commenced masters of arts should swear, among other things, that they would resist all adherents of the sect of Lollards." And Knox begins his *History of the Reformation* by stating, that—"In the Scrolls of Glasgow is found mentioun of one whais name is not expressed, that, in the year of God 1422, was burnt for heresie; bot what war his opinions, or by what ordour he was condempned, it appearis not evidentlie." In editing Knox's *History* in 1644,

David Buchanan supposed that this referred to Resby, and he was unscrupulous enough to alter the passage accordingly. Eighteen years later, this misled Petrie so far, that, in his *Compendious History*, he gave Glasgow as the place where Resby was burnt, while he adhered to the correct year. And the younger M'Crie was also misled by the same interpolation, for he gives 1422 as the date of Resby's martyrdom. But it is evident that the martyr of 1422 was neither Resby nor Crow.

In a Parliament held at Perth on the 12th of March 1424, or, as now reckoned, 1425, it was ordained that each bishop should, by the inquisition of heresy, cause inquiry to be made for "heretiks and lollardis," that they be punished as the "lawe of haly-kirk requiris," and, if need be, that the secular power be called on for help.

Such was the burning zeal of the church-men, and such was the condition of the law of Scotland, when Paul Crow ventured to visit it, with the special purpose of trying to spread the truth, which he had received into his own heart. Nearly all that is known about him can only be gathered from the pages of Roman Catholic historians, from the writings of men who not only did not sympathise with him, but who detested his doctrines, and regarded his cruel death as a righteous punishment.

To Bower, his condemnation and fate furnished a convenient peg, on which to hang three chapters of vehement denunciation of the Wickliffites, Lollards, and Pragensians. But as he is the only contemporary writer who mentions him, it may be advisable to quote all that he says regarding the man, his mission, condemnation, and death. After referring to some events of 1432, he proceeds:—"In the following year, Paul Crowar from Germany was accused on the 23rd day of July at St Andrews, and found to be an obstinate heretic, he was convicted, condemned, brought to the fire,

and burnt to ashes. He, as it is said, was sent away by the heretics of Prague in Bohemia, who were then too much distinguished for their evil-doings, for the purpose of infecting the realm of the Scots, recommended by letters from themselves as if eminent in the art of medicine. He was found to be ready and versed in sacred literature, and in adducing proofs from the Bible; but, as an instance of his folly, he maintained pertinaciously all those erroneous articles of the Pragites and followers of Wicklif; but was refuted by the venerable man, Master Laurence of Lindores, inquisitor of wicked heresy, who allowed heretics or Lollards to rest nowhere within the kingdom." If Paul Craw had not been a man of great zeal, faith, and courage, he would not have ventured into the very citadel of the Papacy in Scotland, at such a time and with such an object. He must have been regarded as qualified for the difficult and dangerous mission, or he would not have been sent so far to carry it out. He must also have been a skilled medical man, for, otherwise, they would not have dared to recommend him as such. Doubtless, his knowledge of sacred literature was both thorough and extensive, and his promptness in quoting apposite texts remarkable, or Bower would not have admitted so much in his praise. It would have been interesting to know how old he was, to know something of his appearance, whether he made many friends or converts in St Andrews, how he laboured, what were his methods, and how long he was here. As we shall yet see, even the last point is uncertain; and the others are utterly unknown.

Nor does Bower localise the spot of his martyrdom more particularly than by saying it was at St Andrews. Hector Boece, however, who wrote in 1526, states that it was in the midst of the marketplace. It is true that Boece was much more of a fabulist than a historian; but, if he is unsupported

in this statement, he is also uncontradicted ; and as the spot was a very likely one, it may be accepted as correct. In all probability, he was burned near the cross in Market Street.

Knox is the first to record that a ball of brass was put in his mouth, to prevent him from confessing his faith to the people, and from defending himself against the unjust accusation and condemnation. This seems to imply that he had so mastered the language of the people, among whom he had come to dwell, that his persecutors were afraid that he might make converts at the stake. And so the lone foreigner was not only burned alive in presence of a great concourse of people, but was kept silent by a heartless expedient amidst the devouring flames. God alone knew the thoughts which passed through his mind during the trying ordeal ; but He was able to sustain him in the fiery trial, with all its sufferings and horrors. Burning alive was such a terrible death, that the fiendish cruelty of augmenting it, by forcing a ball into the mouth of the victim, seems almost incredible. Yet Knox may have conversed with many people in St Andrews whose parents witnessed the atrocious deed. In France the same object was occasionally effected by the same means, and at other times by cutting out the tongue ! Two centuries and-a-half after Paul Craw's time, the Scottish Covenanters were silenced on the scaffold by the beating of drums, a plan quite as efficacious and not so diabolical.

It is generally inferred from Bower's account that the martyr was accused, convicted, condemned, and executed in one day. His words will bear that meaning, but they do not necessarily imply it. He does not say before whom he was tried, nor by whom he was condemned. Bosc, on the other hand, says, that he was laid hold of by Bishop Wardlaw, in the college ; that the

professors of theology tried in vain to convince him of his errors; and that, he was therefore sent to the secular judge, who, having questioned him, and having discovered that he was sent as an apostle to proclaim to the Scots the mad heresy of Wiclif and Huss, immediately erected the pile. Stewart, in his metrical translation of Boece's *History*, says that he was tried at a "counsall generall," and that he "was brynt in poulder small." In referring to his committal to the secular judge, Knox throws, in the parenthetical remark—"for our bischoppis follow Pilat, who boith did coondempne, and also wesche his handis."

Bower explicitly states that he was refuted by the venerable Laurence of Lindores, whom he still calls "Inquisitor of wicked heresy;" whereas Boece says that the chief in resisting him, and inquiring concerning his faith, was John Fogo, a Cistercian monk. Boece is followed in this, not only by Arch-Deacon Bellenden, his translator, but also by two other Roman Catholic historians, to wit, Leslie and Dempster. The latter says that Fogo wrote a book on the examination of Paul Craw, another on the error of the Wiclifites and Hussites, and a third on auricular confession; and that Laurence of Lindores wrote an examination of the heretical Lollards, whom he thrust out of the whole kingdom. Boece further asserts that Fogo was rewarded by being appointed Professor of Sacred Literature in Melrose Abbey, while Bellenden says that he got "the abbacy of Melros." The reward is also specified by Leslie and Dempster. And Sir James Balfour, of Denmylne, who describes Fogo as "a lberdly monnke," who had written a blasphemous pamphlet against Paul Craw's heresy, says that the King, at the earnest solicitation of the clergy, and especially of Bishop Wardlaw, bestowed the Abbey of Melrose on him. But, from Morton's

Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, it appears that Fogo was Abbot of Melrose in 1425, that is, eight years before Paul Craw's condemnation ! Boece is also the first to say, that the King—James the First—commended the deed very highly, on hearing of it, and held the actors worthy of special praise. "Yitt," says Calderwood, "Captane Borthwick reported to Ludquharne, that King James laboured for his life, first by messengers, and then by verses writtin in the Scottish language, which ended with these words:—'If this will not satisfie you, then have at your heeles !' It may seeme by the Act of Parliament made in his time against hereticks and Lollards, that he favoured not the professours of the truthe. Yitt it may be that he feared the Pope and cleargeis power, terrible to greatest kings in these times, and therefore would not seeme to favour the Lollards." There is, therefore, reason to doubt whether Fogo took the active part in Paul Craw's conviction, which Boece assigns to him. If the King interceded for the martyr, as Calderwood believes, then it is most improbable that he was accused and burned on the same day.

If Sir James Balfour is right in saying, that he came to St Andrews in August 1432, he must have been eleven months in the city ; but Balfour is not to be implicitly trusted in such details.

In his fierce declamation against the Lollards and Pragensians, Bower asserts that:—"These sects do not believe in Purgatory, they detest all monastic life, they abhor pilgrimages, they despise the orders and keys of the Church, and deny the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead." Protestants will think none the less of these early "heretics," because they set their faces against Purgatory, monasticism, and pilgrimages. And there is no cause to believe that they denied the doctrine of the resurrection. "It

would have been strange indeed," says Principal Lee, "if they had rejected this most pleasing hope, for, if there be no resurrection, they must have been of all men most miserable." But the Abbot of Inchevaline not only denounces and perverts their beliefs — he maliciously mis-represents their actions. He charges them with the same immorality that the Pagans imputed to the early Christians; but no man of candour, however ignorant of ecclesiastical history, would for a moment believe such an accusation, when found imbedded in the rancorous abuse of which Bower was a master. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of his virulence in an abstract, but space cannot be afforded for more, and probably few people would care to read it all. He calls them, sects of vipers — false prophets, who come to us in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves — foxes of Samson — wandering stars — Berengarians — Pharisaical hypocrites — Esau — Stoics — Epiureans — disciples of the great dragon — clouds without water — haughty centaurs — Nicolaitanes — Arians — enemies of the cross of Christ — owls, who put out the lamp of faith, that they may drink the oil — accursed and begotten of the Hydra — apostates from the faith — weeds and dogflies — and wing-less locusts. He alleges that they sow the Devil's seed, and that "they will descend into Hell, like lead into the tempestuous waters!" Well may those who wish to know what were the principles and practices of the Lollards and Hussites turn to a more unprejudiced witness!

As an eloquent writer has said:—"The word 'heretic,' which to contemporaries was the one expression fraught with the deepest animations of horror, is sought for eagerly among the legends by the modern historian as the green blade of promise bursting out of the barren soil."

PATRICK HAMILTON.

"Occasions of adversity best discover how great virtue or strength each one hath. For occasions do not make a man frail, but they shew what he is."—THOMAS A KEMPIS.

Though designed to strike terror into the hearts of the people, the burning of three men did not prevent the hated heresy from spreading. And, on the other hand, the constancy of these men, even unto death, does not seem to have had much effect, in opening the eyes of the churchmen of Scotland. This, however, is not to be greatly wondered at. In October last, at the opening of a new Roman Catholic chapel at Montrose, a priest put the matter very plainly, when he said, that, "there can be no faith apart from the sacrifice of independence of mind." And, as Hill Burton has well said, the old priesthood had strong restraints from inquiry. "They were not only told what to believe, but the complicated framework of their system greatly impeded independent investigation. Each had enough to do with the immediate affairs of his own place. Work was made for him in the significance and importance of what other people count small things. Every posture and motion — every article of costume, first in its colour, second in its structure, thirdly in the time when it was put on or off—symbolised some great truth or mystery of the Church. So did the multiplied ceremonies, small and great; the numerous articles in the ecclesiastical treasury, the specialities of the furniture, and all the peculiarities of the architecture. It would be impossible to classify all the minute and artificial interests thus created to give the ecclesiastic enough to think of in his own little corner of the vast system, and keep his mind from inquiring

backwards into the history of it all. Even when a great genius like Mabillon appeared among his brethren, he would utter his knowledge as one afraid to disturb the foundations of a mighty fabric." Yet, ere long, leading men arose in the Church of Scotland, who were anxious for a certain amount of reformation.

Wardlaw died in 1440, and was succeeded in the see of St Andrews by the good James Kennedy, who was a grandson of Robert the Third. He not only manifested his interest in education by building St Salvator's College; but he did his utmost, both by precept and example, to reform the churchmen of his diocese. As Spotswood states, "he did put all things in such order as no man then living did remember to have seen the Church in so good an estate." He died in 1466.

Kennedy's half-brother, Patrick Graham, was appointed to the bishopric; and, at his request, it was erected by the Pope, in 1472, into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see, with all Scotland for its province. This pre-eminence was opposed by the Arch-bishop of York, on account of the old pretended supremacy of his Church; and also by the Arch-bishop of Drontheim, who claimed the spiritual jurisdiction of the Orkneys. Graham's bitterest adversaries, however, were found in Scotland. The other bishops resented his elevation so hotly, that, according to Leslie, they promised a tax of twelve thousand merks to the King "for his mayntenance aganis the Arche-bischop," and also sent to Rome, where "they playit the cause." No doubt, his commission, to raise men and money for a crusade against the Turks, was not fitted to render his appointment popular; but that alone cannot explain the hostility with which he was received. Nor does his exaltation without the consent or even knowledge of his brother-bishops excuse their conduct towards

him, though it partly explains it. But there was something more. Both Buchanan and Spotswood speak highly of Graham's character and zeal, and both have written sympathetic accounts of the hardships he endured. They tell how his enemies, fearing his projected reforms, turned the King against him, how the Rector of the University presumed to excommunicate him, how his revenues were confiscated, rendering him unable to pay the exactions of the Roman agents, how he was warded in his own Castle of St Andrews, how the accumulated miseries drove him distracted, how Scheves, whom he had opposed as unfit for arch-deacon, was declared his co-adjutor, how he was accused of heresy, schism, and simony, how he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and confined first at Inchcolm, from which he was afterwards taken to Dunfermline, and from thence to Loch-Leven, where he died. "Thus perished a man," says Buchanan, "blameless in his life, and in learning and courage inferior to none of his cotemporaries. Other virtuous men, terrified by his misfortunes, and hopeless of restoring ecclesiastical discipline, confined themselves entirely to their private duties. At court, church preferment was either sold or bestowed as rewards upon pimps and parasites." From some documents that have recently been brought to light, it appears that the Pope sent a nuncio, in 1476, to whose satisfaction, it was proved, among other things, that Graham refused to obey the Pope's commands, that he sometimes said mass thrice a day, that he reviled and blasphemed "the Holy See," that he proclaimed himself a Pope chosen of God and crowned by an angel to reform the Church, and that he revoked the Pope's indulgences, affirming that they were granted for lucre. "For these and other acts of oppression, simony, heresy, and schism, the Pontiff deposed him from all holy orders and office, and

condemned him to captivity for life within the walls of a monastery." This later evidence bears out in a remarkable way the narratives of Buchanan and Spotswood. Assuming that the nuncio's report was truthful and unvarnished, the absurdity of some of the items shows that the old historians were not wrong in saying that he was driven to distraction; and there is much point in their remark that few bishops in those days said one mass in three months. Whether Graham was mad or not, the facts are outstanding, that he was anxious to reform abuses, and that the Pope, in deposing him and sentencing him to imprisonment for life, assigned heresy as one of the reasons.

Hill Burton, in complaining of the extremely unsatisfactory nature of the accounts obtainable of ecclesiastical litigations and punishments at that period, says:—"Of denunciations for political offences there is generally some record of parliamentary or other proceedings, showing that the thing has been done by a jury, or in some other shape, in the face of day; but about the ecclesiastical proceedings, whether they end in burning, as with Reseby and Cregar, or in ruin and imprisonment, as in the present instance, all is done in mysterious silence."

Scheves, who succeeded Graham in the archbishopric, was consecrated in 1478. Scarcely, however, was he warm in his nest, ere repeated and energetic efforts were made to have the bishopric of Glasgow also exalted into an archiepiscopal see. In the opinion of Parliament, the honour and public good of the realm required it. A rival was needed to break down the power of Scheves. At length the Pope consented, and, in 1492, Blacader was made an arch-bishop. Instead of peace, the strife between the prelates continued for years, and not only impoverished their churches, but apparently endangered the peace of the country.

Blacader, moreover, soon distinguished himself in another way. In 1494, he brought before the civil power thirty persons from Ayrshire, charged with thirty-four heresies. The records of the process against them are now lost, but Knox had access to them, and has preserved the "articles" in his *History*. There is reason to believe that in several particulars the meaning of the Lollards was perverted. Nevertheless, "by these articles," says Knox, "which God of His mercyfull providence caused the ennemies of His trowth to keip in thare Registeris, may appeir how mercyfullie God hath looked upoun this realme, reteanyng within it some spunk of His light, evin in the tyme of grettast darkness." Partly through the courageous answers of the accused, and partly through the King—James the Fourth—inclining to deal gently with them, "for diverse of thame war his great familiaris," the Archbishop was balked of his prey, though aged men told long afterwards that three of them were actually brought forth to the scaffold.

The terrible disaster at Flodden, on the 9th of September 1513, by depriving the country of the King and so many of the leading nobles at once, threw much additional power into the hands of designing church-men. Well might the lamentation arise—

"The flowers of the forest that fought ay the foremost,
The prime of our land are cauld in the clay."

The youthful Arch-bishop of St Andrews, Alexander Stewart, was numbered with the slain. The fierce contentions that arose concerning the appointment of his successor reveal the shameless state into which the Church had sunk. Gavin Douglas, on the Queen's presentation, took possession of the Castle; but John Hepburn, who induced the canons to elect him, seized and garrisoned it with soldiers. These were not the only competitors. James Beaton was also in the field, and so was Andrew Forman. The latter was backed

by the Pope, and ultimately was successful; but he had to disgorge much of his spoils. To Beaton he had to part with the Abbacy of Arbroath, and to Hepburn he had to pay a pension of three thousand crowns. Forman died in 1521, and next year James Beaton, who was Arch-bishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of the Kingdom, stepped into his shoes at St Andrews.

Verily, there was need of reformation in Scotland! But the good leaven was silently working. Some copies of the New Testament in manuscript were in the hands of the Lollards of Kyle, and were read and studied in secret before the year 1500. Now, however, printed copies of Tyndale's translation began to find their way into the country, and most of all—surprising as it may seem—into St Andrews!

In 1525, Parliament ordained that as the damnable opinions of heresy are spread in diverse countries, by the heretic Luther and his disciples, and this realm and the lieges have firmly persisted in the holy faith since it was first received, and never as yet admitted any opinions contrary to the Christian faith, but ever "has bene clene of all sic filthe and vice," therefore no strangers, arriving with their ships in any part of this realm, shall bring with them any books or works of Luther's disciples, or dispute or rehearse his heresies or opinions except to the confusion thereof, under the pain of personal imprisonment, and the forfeiting of their ships and goods. Little did they know that the forbidding of books was the most effectual means of causing them to be read. Two years later, the Chancellor and Lords of Council added to the Act that the King's lieges, who assisted such opinions, should be punished in the same way. This seems to imply that they found the heresy to be spreading in spite of their prohibitions. But there is more direct proof.

The first and second editions of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament were printed in 1525, and issued from Worms; and the third edition was printed at Antwerp in 1526. From the Low Countries they were sent both to England and Scotland. Cardinal Wolsey thought, by burning the obnoxious Testaments, to prevent the plague of heresy from spreading in England; but, as the printers persevered in their work, his task was like to be an endless one. Accordingly, steps were taken to prevent the printing of more. He found a zealous agent in John Hackett, whose ardent efforts need not be detailed here, and whose name I only mention because of a particular passage in one of his letters, first brought to light by Christopher Anderson. In writing to Wolsey, on the 20th of February 1526, or, as now reckoned, 1527, Hackett mentions that he had formerly advertised Brian Tuke, the Secretary of State, "that there were divers merchants of Scotland that bought many of such like books, and took them into Scotland; a part to Edinburgh, and most part to the town of St Andrews. For the which cause, when I was at Barrow [now Bergen-op-Zoom], being advertised that the Scottish ships were in Zealand, for there the said books were laden, I went suddenly thitherward, thinking, if I had found such stuff there, that I would cause to make as good a fire of them, as there has been done of the remnant in Brabant; but fortune would not that I should be in time; for the foresaid ships were departed a day afore my coming."

The nickname of Lollard had now been thrown aside, and that of Lutheran had taken its place; but, undeterred by the epithet and the penalties involved, even St Andrews had begun to Lutheranize. In the words of Dr Lorimer:—"The axe was even now laid to the root of the tree; already the little cloud was seen in the horizon, no bigger

than a man's hand, which was ere long to cover the whole firmament of the Church with deadly storm. Luther and Tyndale were at the Primate's Castle-gate, and they were more than a match for all the power and policy of the Beaton, and the Hepburns, and the Dumbars of the Episcopate. The Word of God was already in men's hands; and the Spirit of God was beginning to move in men's hearts; and these were soon to show themselves mighty to the pulling down of the strongholds of error and superstition. The Reformation of the Church of Scotland had begun. All that was wanting now was the voice of the living Reformer. Luther's tracts, and Tyndale's Testaments could do much, but they could not do everything. The evangelical preacher, the godly confessor, the invincible martyr of Christ's Holy Gospel must speak to the nation, before the nation's heart could be stirred to its depths. And already such a man stood ready to enter upon his work."

Patrick Hamilton was born about the year 1504. The exact date is not known, neither is the precise locality where he first saw the light. In the Register of Paris University, he is described as of Glasgow, but that may only mean that he was a native of that diocese. If such be the case, then he was probably born at Stanehouse, near Hamilton. But, from the entry in the Register of Marburg, which connects him with Linlithgow, it might be argued that he was born at Kincavel, which is in that county. He was the younger son of Sir Patrick Hamilton, of Kincavel and Stanehouse, Sheriff of Linlithgowshire, and Captain of Blackness Castle. The illustrious Martyr had the blood of kings in his veins, for his mother, Catharine Stewart, was a grand-daughter of James the Second. It is true that she is spoken of as a natural daughter, because the marriage of her parents was dissolved

on alleged propinquity of blood. David Laing, however, thought it proper to observe, "that illegitimation caused by the dissolution of such marriages, in conformity with the complicated rules of the Canon Law, was not considered to entail disgrace on the children, nor did it always interrupt the succession either in regard to titles or property."

It has been conjectured that he may have received his early education at the Grammar-School of Glasgow, or at that of Linlithgow; but, as two of his maternal uncles were ecclesiastical dignitaries, it is more probable that he was instructed in some one or other of the abbeys or priories. Nothing, however, regarding this period of his life can be stated with certainty. His father's chivalry, no doubt, would have an influence for good in moulding his character; and his mother's devoted care may be inferred from his commending her, with his dying breath at the stake, to the sympathy of his friends. He was designed for the Church; and the Abbey of Ferne, in Rosshire, was bestowed on him, probably about 1517.

Until Dr Lorimer made a study of his life, it was supposed that he had received his university education at St Andrews; but it is now acknowledged that he was a graduate before he was connected with our University. It is certain that he took his master's degree in Paris in 1520, and so he must have gone there in 1516 or 1517. It is not known in which of the many colleges of Paris University he matriculated, though it may be supposed that he would have a preference either for the Scots College, founded in the days of Robert the Bruce, or the College of Montaute, where many of his countrymen had distinguished themselves. In those days, the three learned languages—Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—were not taught by the University of Paris, though its members studied them privately. Erasmus had

left ; but his spirit and tastes were laying hold of the regents and students, who laughed at "the venerable lovers of darkness and stagnation who were still the nominal heads."

On such a nature as Hamilton's, the shameful contests for place and power in the Church, which occurred in his youth, must have made a vivid and unfavourable impression. These and the general corruption would doubtless incline him the more readily to consider the new views impartially. The time he spent in Paris may be regarded as the turning-point of his life. In 1519, many copies of the disputation between Luther and Eck were brought to that city. Next year the Duke of Saxony wrote to the Faculty of Theology asking their opinion of Luther's doctrine. The matter was discussed by all the four faculties, and, after more than a year's deliberation, it was at length carried that he was a heretic, and that his works should be publicly burned. The excitement was not allayed by the arrival in a few months later of Melancthon's *Defence of Luther against the Furibund Decrees of the Parisian Theologasters*. To stop the immense sale of this pamphlet, booksellers and printers were thrown into prison. Amid all this violent ferment, Patrick Hamilton could not possibly be an uninterested onlooker ; and in no other place could he have learned so well "all that was strongest and weakest both in the new and the old theology."

It was probably some time after graduating in Paris that he went to Louvaine to prosecute his studies there. In all likelihood he was attracted thither by the Trilingual College ; but it may also have been to meet Erasmus, who did not leave Louvaine for Basle until the autumn of 1521. At all events, Hamilton seems to have remained at these foreign seminaries until 1523, when he is again found in Scotland.

Patrick Hamilton returned to his father-land, but not to his father; for that valiant knight was slain in Edinburgh, in 1530, in the fray known as "Cleanse the Causeway"—a conflict between the Hamiltons and the Douglasses, which Sir Patrick tried to avert, until taunted with being unwilling to fight in his friend's quarrel. On that memorable day, James Beaton was on the side of the Hamiltons; and, smiting on his breast, declared to Gavin Douglas that, on his conscience, he knew not of the matter; but Gavin, hearing the armour under his ecclesiastical garb resound to the blow, exclaimed, "I perceive, my lord, your conscience is not good, for I hear it clatter!" Ere the fray was over, the crafty and politic Beaton fled to the church of the Black Friars, and took refuge behind the altar, from whence he was dragged, and would have been slain had Gavin Douglas not interceded for him.

Having returned to Scotland, one city had more attractions than any other for the studious Hamilton. St Andrews was then the ecclesiastical capital of the kingdom, and the seat of Scotland's first and most prosperous university. There was no other town in his native land where he could so well increase his attainments, or see so much of the inner life and workings of the Church. Strangely enough, John Major, who had been a professor at Paris when Hamilton was there, and had since taught at Glasgow, was incorporated as a member of St Andrews University on the same day. The brief entry in the Register occurs at the bottom of a page, and, though dated 9th June 1523, is preceded and followed by entries of 1521, which suggests the idea that it was inserted there to save space. Many of the words are much contracted, and the writing has grown faint; but it can still be deciphered. Hamilton's name does not appear in the regular list of students, for this entry simply bears that the venerable man, Master, our Master, John

Major, Doctor of Theology of Paris, and Treasurer of the Chapel Royal, was incorporated; and that on the same day Master Patrick Hamilton and Master Robert Landar are incorporated in our University. It is hardly necessary to explain that the word Master prefixed to his name shows that he was a Master of Arts at that time. While Hamilton's name has become a household word, it is questionable whether one in a thousand of his modern countrymen ever heard of the venerable Doctor!

In those days Major was regarded as an oracle, and on some points his opinions were advanced. He denied the Pope's temporal supremacy, and asserted that he was subject to a General Council. Tithes, he thought, were of human appointment, and he was not afraid to censure the abuses of his time. He also held that kings derived their authority from the people, and might be controlled and even punished by them, if they became tyrannical. But there was much superstition in him, and in theology he did not venture beyond the old beaten track. He can neither be called a reformer nor confessor. Judging from his signature to an official document, he was a very modest unassuming man. His most distinguished pupil, at Glasgow, was Knox; and at St Andrews, Buchanan.

On the 3d day of October 1524, Hamilton was received into the Faculty of Arts. In the entry recording this, he is styled Master Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne in the Diocese of Ross. After some experience of St Andrews, he had evidently resolved to reside in it for a longer time. In all likelihood, he was anxious to study still further the differences between the old beliefs and the new. St Leonard's College would have great attractions for him. The new Principal, Gavin Logie, was a man of kindred spirit. He so instilled the truth secretly into his scholars, who, in process of time, spread it through the whole country, that it

became proverbial to say to any one who favoured the reformed opinions—"You have drunk of St Leonard's well!" With the canons of the Priory, as well as the regents of St Leonard's, Hamilton would have much intercourse. He must have had a talent for music, for he composed a mass—beginning with the words "Bless the Lord all ye his angels"—arranged in parts for nine voices, which was sung in the Cathedral, and he acted himself as precentor of the choir. From this, it appears that his mis-givings about the doctrines of the Church did not yet prevent him from taking part in its public ritual. It is on the day when this piece was publicly performed, that Mr Johnston of Carnbee makes his *Tragedy* to open. He represents the Archbishop as saying:—

"Well I recall the day—

A black one too for me—seven years ago,
When th' old knight died on Edinburgh street.
Some taunt of cowardice made hot his blood;
Away he burst, thrashed down the spears like straws,
And died at length, one man o'erborne by hundreds.
I saw him in this son of his to-day:
The same brave brow, a face sincere and calm,
Lifted upon you like a night with stars—
The same firm hand, although it held no sword;
But tense and earnest kept the choir in time.
I marked his eye if any voice rose flat—
It flashed as I have seen the father's flash.
This stripling troubles me. He heads a set
Of youths that read the Scriptures in their Greek,
And kindle over Plato, and conceive
They sit at Truth's own source, and need no help
Of the Church rope and wheel to draw it for them;
Have been to foreign universities,
And learned the newest modes in heresy."

Dr Lorimer is probably nearer the mark when he infers that the chapter had still perfect confidence in his orthodoxy, since they were willing to accept his enrichment of their choral service.

It was during Hamilton's residence at St Andrews that the Act of Parliament, of 1525, was passed against the importation of Lutheran books, and the rehearsing of Lutheran heresies. If, as that Act declares, the realm had previously "bene

clene of all sic filthe and vice," the promoters of the Act did their best to make the name at least of the Arch-heretic widely known, for it was ordained, that the Act should be proclaimed at all the ports and burghs of the kingdom. This would certainly cause men to enquire about the obnoxious Luther and his opinions. Such an incitement, however, would not be required among the learned men of St Andrews. They would all already know more or less about the man and his work; yet the Act and its proclamation would be an additional stimulus; and they would be quickened still more by the speedy arrival of Tyndale's Testaments. The disputing or rehearsing of Luther's heresies, even to confute them, was further limited to "clerkis in the sculis," by a marginal clause in the Act. While intended to shut the mouths of the common herd, this would allow zealous professors to declaim with energy against the new opinions. Perhaps, even Bower may have been surpassed, but the auditory had now better means for personal enquiry. In the friendly discussions and conferences, that would then be held in our ancient city, Hamilton doubtless took a prominent part. There are ample testimonies to his scholarship; and, in the extent of his information on the disputed points, he was probably equalled by few of his companions and surpassed by none.

He must have begun to speak with considerable freedom in favour of the reformed doctrines; for, early in 1527, Beaton, making "faithful inquisition," found Master Patrick infamed with heresy, and therefore decreed that "he should be summoned and accused." So indeed it is stated in the final sentence, which was pronounced a year later, and which has been preserved by Foxe. Hamilton was now in imminent danger. If he remained and faced the Arch-bishop's tribunal, he must lay his account

either to recant or to suffer death. Though he would have disdained to do the one, he might not feel that he had yet received grace to endure the other. Besides, he would desire to know the new opinions more thoroughly, in order to witness more clearly for them, and so he resolved to obey his Master's injunction :—"When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another."

It is stated by John Frith, who soon followed our martyr to "the better land" in a chariot of fire, that Hamilton, anxious to proclaim the truth, "sought all means, and took upon him priest-hood (even as Paul circumcised Timothy, to win the weak Jews), that he might be admitted to preach the pure Word of God." But there are various reasons for doubting Frith's accuracy on this point. It is uncertain whether the two ever met face to face, and consequently Frith's unsupported testimony cannot be accepted as conclusive. If he was ever admitted to the priest-hood, it must have been before his flight, and at that time he was only twenty-three, while twenty-five was the canonical age for priest's orders. That, however, is not the greatest difficulty; for in Beaton's final sentence, it is expressly asserted that "not being admitted, but of his own head, without license or privilege," he "hath presumed to preach wicked heresy." And there is excellent authority for believing that although he was titular Abbot of Ferne, yet such was his hatred to monkish hypocrisy that he never assumed the monastic habit.

With three of his country-men, Hamilton went to Germany. At Wittemberg, he met Luther and Melancthon, from whom he doubtless learned that the Landgrave of Hesse was speedily to open a new university at Marburg, and that Francis Lambert was to be at the head of its theological faculty. The inauguration of the first evangelical university was a very important as well as an in-

teresting event. The 30th of May 1527 was the opening day, and among the one hundred and four names, which were then enrolled, stand those of Patrick Hamilton and two of his Scottish companions—John Hamilton and Gilbert Winram. There, during his short sojourn of a few months, the youthful reformer was safe from the fangs of the persecutor; there, in the enjoyment of the friendship of some of the ablest and most devoted men of the age, he was to be fully equipped for his brief but brilliant ministry; and, there, he was to be imbued with that martyr spirit, which triumphs over death and every danger.

Hamilton was the first man, after the erection of Marburg University, who there put forth a series of theses to be publicly defended. These theses, which were written in Latin, were warmly commended at the time for their evangelical spirit, as well as the learning with which they were maintained. There can be no doubt that these propositions formed what Knox has well called his "littill pithie werk." In David Laing's opinion, this brief treatise was probably printed as an academical dissertation, while he was at Marburg. At all events, it was translated by John Frith, who gave it the name of *Patrick's Places*, and by that name it has since been best known. Frith, in characterising it, says:—"It treateth exactly of certain common places, which known ye have the pith of all divinity;" and he adds, "this treatise I have turned into the English tongue, to the profit of my nation." At least three editions of Frith's translation appear to have been printed before 1540. And, Foxe, in reprinting it in his *Acts and Monuments*, speaks of it as a "godly and profitable treatise." He not only gives it in full in that great martyrological work, but adds "certain brief notes" of his own, because "this little treatise of Master Patrick's Places, albeit in quantity it be short, yet in effect it comprehendeth matter

a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward.

Faith pertaineth to God only ; hope to His reward ; and charity to her neighbour."

Even in the days of the Apostles there were Judaizing teachers, and their spirit so prevailed during the Middle Ages that Christianity was petrified into a sort of legal ecclesiasticism. The Reformation was the re-action of Christianity as Gospel against Christianity as Law. Hamilton's hearers, therefore, who had been trained from their infancy in these perverted views, must have been greatly surprised by the radical difference of the truths he taught. Men who had patiently performed penance, and trusted to the merits of saints and martyrs, must have been amazed by statements like the following:—

"Since Christ the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and all that is therein, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant that we were so far drowned and sunken in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the treasures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of them : therefore no deeds or works may make us righteous."

"Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man : but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works."

He saw that an objection might be raised, and so he anticipated it.

"'If works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous,' then thou wilt say, 'It maketh no matter what we do.' I answer, If thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil, and wantest faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith ; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor evil fruit

the tree evil; so that man is good ere he do good deeds, and evil ere he do evil deeds."

Though prepared for academic discussion, the earnest practical piety of the Reformer runs through the treatise like a thread of silver. For example, he thus breaks out:—

"Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour, that Christ died for him, and that all things pertain to Christ. For how is He thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thyself by thy works, or whereto should He die for thee, if any works might have saved thee?"

"He hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and desireth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what He hath done for thee, and bear it in mind; and that thou wouldst help others for His sake, both in word and deed, even as He hath holpen thee for nought, and without reward."

Still one short quotation more must be made ere passing on from Patrick's Places; and it is one in which he unconsciously lets us see right into his inmost soul.

"O how ready would we be to help others, if we knew His goodness and gentleness towards us; He is a good and gentle Lord, for He doth all for nought. Let us, I beseech you therefore, follow His footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. Amen!"

There is the secret of Hamilton's self-sacrificing devotedness!

It was good for him that he was brought into close contact with such a man as Lambert, who, "as a teacher of theology," "occupied himself much more with the kernel of Christianity than with its shell." That eminent man afterwards testified that he had many conversations with

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interesting facts regarding Hamilton, which have been preserved by Alesius, is that "shortly before his death he married a young lady of noble rank." Unfortunately, he has not recorded her name; but, as Lorimer concludes, she must have been as noble in spirit and character as in rank, and doubtless became his convert before she became his partner, else she would not have married one, whose life was in danger from the most powerful and unrelenting foes. The integrity and information of Alesius are alike unimpeachable; and, by thus bringing his long-forgotten *Commentary on the First Book of Psalms* to light, God removed the imputation which had temporarily stained the reputation of His faithful servant.

The success of Hamilton's preaching alarmed the rulers of the Church; but they were chary about seizing him, where the power of his family was so great. They therefore resorted to stratagem. According to Knox, Archbishop Beaton "so travailed with the said Maister Patrik, that he gat him to Sanctandrosse." Spotswood relates that it was "under colour of conference" that he was enticed to this city. Hamilton was not deceived by the device, he knew that "bonds and afflictions" awaited him. "While yet with his relations, he predicted that he had not long to live." Nevertheless, he resolved to comply with Beaton's request. If his friends tried to dissuade him, it was in vain. He had returned from Germany to witness for the truth, and to die for it, if need be; and therefore he could not decline an invitation, which would give him the opportunity of proclaiming it in the head-quarters of its enemies. Towards the end of January, he arrived at St Andrews.

Hamilton was received in our City with the appearance of cordiality—the Arch-bishop, it is said, having even provided a lodging for him. Knox not only states that the conference lasted

"diverse days," and that Beaton and his doctors seemed to approve his doctrine, and also to grant that many things in the government of the Church required to be reformed; but that after the conference he was still allowed freedom. Evidently, they were afraid to condemn one, who was so highly connected, until he should commit himself openly; and so he was left at perfect liberty for nearly a month. By their craft they accomplished their immediate object, but brought ultimate ruin on their cause. Possibly, his suspicious were lulled by their candour, and living among them, as Knox says, a lamb among wolves, he might not imagine that their hearts were full of purposed cruelty towards him. Or, perhaps, his forebodings of coming danger may only have quickened his zeal. At anyrate, he made the best use of his time and freedom. "He taught and disputed openly in the University, on all the points on which he conceived a reformation to be necessary in the Church's doctrines, and in her administration of the sacraments and other rites." Not only so, but many visited him at his lodging, to enquire more fully concerning the faith he was so eagerly spreading. Two of these visitors stand out most prominently—the one a professed friend, the other an open opponent—the one a treacherous traitor, the other a man of sincerity—the one proving an accuser, and the other a convert. The first was Alexander Campbell, the Prior of the Black Friars, and the other Alexander Alane, a canon of the Priory, afterwards known as Alesius.

From Knox, Buchanan, and Spotswood, it appears that Campbell was a young man, of good ability and learning; that he was appointed to frequent Hamilton's company, in order to divert him from his opinions; that he secretly professed to agree with him on nearly every point called in question; but, being fonder of life than of truth, was persuaded to become his accuser.

During his previous sojourn in St Andrews, Hamilton had known Alane; and this ardent disciple of the scholastic theology now thought that he could turn Patrick from his Lutheran errors; for recently he had refuted the arguments of the Arch-heretic Luther himself, to the satisfaction of all the St Andrews theologians. His disputes with Hamilton, however, had the very opposite result, and that result reflected honour on both the contenders. Few who are defeated in argument are magnanimous enough to own it; but Alane not only acknowledged that he had been worsted—he adopted and defended his antagonist's beliefs. The truth gained a double victory over him.

But events were fast ripening for the final issue. Knox and Calderwood assert, that after the bishops and clergy fully understood Hamilton's mind and judgment, they persuaded the King to undertake a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Duthac, in Ross-shire, in order that the victim's friends might have no opportunity of interceding for his life. Although Spotswood also mentions this pilgrimage, yet grave doubts have been cast on it, both by David Laing and Christopher Anderson. At that time, the King was barely sixteen, and was so thoroughly in the power of the Earl of Angus, that he was little better than a prisoner; and, therefore, it has been supposed that Knox was mistaken, or mis-informed on the point. On the other hand, it is extremely probable that the King had met Patrick Hamilton at Linlithgow; and Bishop Lealey speaks of the King exhorting him. Moreover, there is some evidence to show that the King's father—James the Fourth—made an annual pilgrimage to that very shrine of St Duthac; and Dr Lorimer has printed part of a letter from Angus to Wolsey, dated the 30th of March, in which he desires to be excused for not answering Wolsey sooner, be-

cause, on the arrival of his messenger, the King "was in the north countre, in ye extreme partis of his realmye." As Wolsey's letters to Angus were dated at Westminster on the 14th and 17th of February, the conclusion seems inevitable that the King was in the north, when Hamilton was burned on the last day of that month. Apparently, he had returned by the 20th of March, for a letter, which he wrote to Wolsey, dated from Edinburgh on that day, is still preserved. Angus, doubtless, took good care that a sufficient guard was with him, when he was out of his sight; but he must have had a certain amount of liberty, for that noble, in writing to Dacre, on the 29th of March, speaks of the King as having departed beyond the Forth "for his pastime" till near Easter.

In writing an account of Hamilton's trial and martyrdom, there are other difficulties than the King's pilgrimage to contend with. The principal accounts vary in several particulars, and occasionally seem to clash. Men are prone to give most prominence to those points with which they are most impressed, and to let others slip into the back-ground. Had it been possible for Foxe, Alesius, Knox, Pitscottie, and Spotswood to have met, compared notes, and drawn up a joint relation, the result would have been a harmonious narrative, full, and consistent; but it would have lacked the individuality that imparts life to their separate pictures. Lorimer confesses that he "experienced considerable difficulty" in arranging the order of the incidents; but there can be little doubt that in the main he has solved the problem correctly. Though neither Knox nor Spotswood says that a summons was issued to Hamilton, he states as a certainty that that was the first step in the process, because it is mentioned in the sentence. Since Lorimer wrote, Professor Mitchell has discovered a copy of the summons itself, which had been engrossed in the *Formulare*, pre-

served in our University Library. This *Formulae* was obviously compiled by a church-lawyer, who flourished at St Andrews, before the death of Cardinal Beaton; and who "seems to have transcribed everything which came in his way, until he had accumulated more than six hundred writs to serve as styles in his practice." As the writer's object in copying the summons, therefore, was not to record any historical fact, but simply to preserve it as a pattern for his future use, he has not inserted the date. Nevertheless, this citation is of much value.

Knox says that Hamilton was arrested and taken to the Castle the night before he was condemned and executed; whereas, Foxe states that "he, being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, prevented the time, and came very early in the morning before he was looked for." Both statements are probably true. Spotswood furnishes the explanation by which they may be reconciled. He relates that Hamilton was presented before Beaton, and accused of maintaining certain articles, several of which he acknowledged to be so undoubtedly true that he offered to sign them; and the others, he said, were "disputable points," which he could not condemn unless for better reasons than he had yet heard. After some conference with him on each article, according to Spotswood, the whole were remitted to the judgment of certain theologians, whose names he gives, and among whom are numbered Hugh Spence, Provost of St Salvator's College, whose tombstone lies in the floor of the College Church, and Alexander Campbell, Prior of the Black Friars. Within a day or two, he says, they presented their judgment of the articles, in which they censured them all as heretical; and this judgment, he continues, which they all subscribed, was delivered to Beaton at a solemn meeting in the Cathedral,

when sentence was pronounced against Hamilton, and he was handed over to the secular power for punishment. As this statement explicitly bears that there was a preliminary examination before the final trial; it may be assumed that it was for that examination that Hamilton voluntarily presented himself, and that it was to secure him for the formal trial in the Cathedral that he was arrested.

From the terms of the summons, it may be gathered that it was a citation to the trial in the Cathedral, and not to the preliminary examination; for, it expressly declares that he is "to appear personally before us [i.e., Arch-bishop Beaton] and our councillors, the lords bishops, abbots, priors, professors of sacred literature, monks, and others assisting us for the time, in our Metropolitan Church." The occasion is identified not only by the place, but also by those present, for Beaton was countenanced at the trial by the Arch-bishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Brechin, and Dunblane, the Abbots of Arbroath, Dunfermline,* Cambuskenneth, and Lindores, the Priors of St Andrews, and Pittenweem, the

* From the Preface to the *Registrum de Dunfermlin*, it appears that James Beaton held the Abbacy of Dunfermline from about 1504 until 1508, or 1510, when it was obtained by Arch-bishop Alexander Stuart, after whose death, it, as well as the Primacy, was secured by Forman. And, after Forman's death, it fell a second time to Beaton, who, ere long, styled himself *usufructuarius*, or *administrator fructuum*, "while he allowed the name and probably devolved the duties of Abbot on George Dury." In a charter of 1524, Beaton is described, among other titles, as Archbishop of St Andrews and Commendator of Arbroath and Dunfermline. In another document of 20th March 1530, George is given as the name of the Abbot. And, in a charter of 29th March 1531, Beaton appears as the Usufructuary of Dunfermline Monastery, and Dury as its Abbot! Dury "continued to take the title of Abbot, or Commendator, apparently subordinate to the Archbishop, during the life of the latter." From Hamilton's sentence it is clear that both these Dunfermline dignitaries were present at the trial.

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cure resistance." They were also to shun him in eating and drinking, until he was freed of heresy. And those who acted contrarily were, by the mere fact of their doing so, to incur the greater excommunication.

Marvellous as it may seem, Hamilton still found hearers. The final sentence passed against him declares, that "he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before us and our council." This may partly explain why he was arrested on the night before the trial. But there was another reason. Some of his friends had determined to rescue him by force from the hands of the oppressors. His brother raised his retainers, and was only prevented from reaching St Andrews by a violent storm raging in the Forth. And John Andrew Duncan, of Airdrie, "armed and mounted about a score of his tenants and servants, intending to enter St Andrews by night, most probably with the view of rescuing his friend, and carrying him off to some place of safety." But a troop of horsemen, commanded by his brother-in-law, surrounded his small party and seized himself.

It was at night that the Captain of St Andrews Castle surrounded the house in which Hamilton was residing, and demanded admission. The youthful hero was accompanied to the door by the faithful friends who were with him. He readily offered to surrender himself, and only asked that his companions might not be molested, while he also forbade them to offer any resistance on his account. They obeyed him so far that they did not use their swords; but they would not deliver him up, until the Captain promised that he would be restored to them again uninjured.

On Saturday morning, the 29th of February 1527, or, as new reckoned, 1528, the people crowded into the Cathedral as they had, perhaps, never

done before. They were accustomed to the splendour and pomp of the services usually conducted there ; but on that forenoon there was to be something new, and that in itself would be a great attraction for many people then, as it is now. The proceedings, however, had a deeper interest than that of mere novelty—the youthful Reformer, who had presumed to be a preacher of righteousness, was to be tried for heresy. Very varied feelings would animate those who thronged that great building. The bitter and be-nighted devotees, zealous for the faith of his fathers, would exult at the prospect of speedy retribution. The licentious ecclesiastic would rejoice in the hope that the voice, which had cried out against his sin, would soon be hushed in death. The honest citizen, who, though often scandalized by the lives of his teachers, had only begun to entertain doubts regarding their creed since hearing Master Patrick, would now be anxious and troubled. The devout inquirer, who had been led to accept the Lutheran heresies, and whose soul was knit with Hamilton's, would be cast down, and in perplexity, if not in despair. One there was who kept serene and calm, whose tongue faltered not, and whose faith remained clear and strong. No one in the vast assembly was more unmoved than he who stood on his trial.

A list of the principal dignitaries who were present to support the Arch-bishop has already been given. Hamilton was brought from the Castle by a strong mounted guard, and placed in a pulpit where all could see and hear him. From the summons we learn that the proceedings were to begin at ten o'clock or thereby. The judgment of the theologians, on the articles with which he was charged at the preliminary examination, was formally delivered to the Arch-bishop. Alexander Campbell, who was there as accuser, read over the articles and charged them on the prisoner. Alesius

was also present, and Lorimer quotes him as saying:—"I was myself an eye-witness of the tragedy, and heard him answering for his life to the charges of heresy which were laid against him. These were read aloud by a Dominican friar; and he was so far from disowning the doctrines which were alleged against him as heresies, that he defended and established them by clear testimonies of Scripture, and refuted the reasonings of his accuser. He took care also to guard his doctrine against the calumny that the faith of which he spoke might be no better than the faith of devils and hypocrites, and not that reliance of the heart which draws along with it repentance, hope, and charity. He was careful to explain that faith, hope, and charity are so knit together that he who has any one of them has all, and he who is destitute of one is destitute of all." Campbell, having been refuted by Hamilton, was instructed by the judges to call him heretic to his face; and, whether his conscience mis-gave him or not, he acted his part. Lorimer is doubtless right, when he infers that the reason why oral charges were now added to the written ones was that these were rendered necessary for the sake of further effect, and for justifying in the eyes of the spectators the sentence and execution which were to follow.

Lindesay of Pitcottie was not an eye-witness like Alesius, but he appears to have derived his information from those who were present, and has drawn vivid pictures of the trial and martyrdom. "Heretick!" exclaimed Campbell, "thou said, it was leisome [*i.e.*, lawful] to all men to read the Word of God, and, in special, the New Testament." To which Hamilton replied, "I wot not if I said so; but I say it is reason, and leisome to all men that have a soul to read the Word of God, and that they may understand the same; and, in special, the Latter-will and Testament of Christ Jesus, whereby they may acknowledge their own

sins, and repent of the same, and may amend their lives by faith and repentance, and come to the mercy of God by Christ Jesus." "Now, heretick," said the accuser, "I see thou affirms the words of thy accusation." Mr Patrick answered, "I affirm nothing but the word which I have spoken in presence of this auditory." "Now further," persisted Campbell, "thou says, it was not leisome to worship imagery." This elicited the response, "I say not further, but that God spake to Moses, in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, in the second commandment, 'Thou shalt not make any graven image, thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.' And also David, in his Psalms, curseth them that are the makers of images, and the outsetters, maintainers, and worshippers of the same." "Heretick," cried Campbell, "knows thou not imagery is the book of the laick and common people, to put them in remembrance of the holy saints that wrought for their salvation?" Hamilton's answer was ready, "Brother, it ought to be preaching of the true Word of God, that should put the people in remembrance of the blood of Christ, and their salvation." The accuser was not yet done with him. "Heretick, thou says, it is but lost labour to pray or to call upon saints that wrought for their salvation; and, in special, to the blessed Virgin Mary, or John, James, Peter, or Paul, as mediator to God for us." The Reformer answered, "I say with Paul, there is no mediator betwixt God and man, but Christ Jesus His Son; and whatsoever they be, that calls or prays to any saint departed, they spoil Christ Jesus of His office." Campbell passed to another point. "Heretick, thou says, it is all in vain our labours made for them that are departed, when we sing soul-mass, Psalms, and dirigies, which is the relaxation of the souls that are departed, who are contained in the pains of Purgatory." Hamilton replied, "Brother, I read

never in the Scripture of God, of such a place as Purgatory, nor yet believe that there is anything that may purge the souls of men, but the blood of Christ Jesus; which ransom standeth in no earthly thing, nor in soul-mass, nor dirgie, nor in gold, nor silver, but only by repentance of sins, and faith in the blood of Christ Jesus."

Campbell put no more questions. He had gained his object. The majority of the vast assembly were quite incapable of understanding discussions concerning faith, free-will, assurance, or the relations between faith, hope, and charity; but they could easily perceive the heresy so frankly avowed by Hamilton regarding the reading of the Bible, the worshipping of images, praying to saints, the existence of Purgatory, and the worthlessness of soul-masses and dirges. In the articles charged against Master Patrick which Foxe received from Scotland out of the Registers, only one of the points introduced by Campbell in his oral charges is mentioned, namely, the non-existence of Purgatory. That is also found in the articles which Spotswood says were brought against him at the preliminary examination. It is also mentioned in the summons, and so is the worshipping of images. Not one of them is referred to in the sentence. Pitcottie represents Campbell as thus addressing the Arch-bishop, after exhausting his oral charges—"My lord, you hear he denies the institution of Holy Kirk, and the authority of our holy father, the Pope. I need not to accuse him more." Probably, he meant that the principles which Hamilton had just owned were directly opposed to those instituted by the Church and authorised by the Pope; but, in the articles preserved by Foxe, he is charged with holding that the Pope is Anti-christ, and that his laws are of no strength.

Pitcottie proceeds to say that, "the bishops and the lords of religion laid their heads together,

and gave sentence against this innocent man." The sentence itself bears that in the previous Lent, faithful inquisition had been made in the cause, that it had been then decreed that he should be summoned and accused of heresy, but that he had "passed forth of the realm to other parts."* Now he was found guilty of preaching without license, and of affirming and publishing the following "opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies," after being summoned to appear before the Archbishop and his council:—"That man hath no free will: that man is in sin so long as he liveth: that children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners: that all Christians, that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace: that no man is justified by works, but by faith only: that good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: that faith, hope, and charity are so knit, that he that hath the one, hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the rest, &c., with divers other heresies and detestable opinions." His offence was aggravated by his persisting "so obstinately in the same, that by no counsel or persuasion he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith." This, according to the sentence of his judges, was the extent of his transgression. The nature of the punishment meted out to him will soon be seen. The sentence proceed:—"All these premises being considered, we, having God, and the integrity of our faith, before our eyes, and following the counsel and advice of the professors of the Holy Scripture, men of laws, and others assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said Master Patrick

* His flight is also referred to in the citation:—"Whom we have before decreed ought to be summoned and also accused; but, meanwhile having left his native land, he betook himself to other foreign places; but . . . he has very lately returned."

deny it. And I will rather be content, that my body burn in this fire, for confession of my faith in Christ, than my soul should burn in the fire of Hell for denying the same. But, as to the sentence and judgment pronounced against me this day, by the bishops and doctors, I here, in presence of you all, appeal contrary the said sentences and judgment given against me, and take me to the mercy of God." Having been bound to the stake by an iron chain, he prayed to God to be merciful to those who persecuted him, for many of them were so blinded by ignorance that they knew not what they did. He also besought Christ to be Mediator for him to the Father, and that he might be so strengthened by the Holy Spirit, that he might steadfastly endure the flames by which he was to be consumed, that he might not swerve nor shrink from any point of his faith, and that He would receive his soul into His hand.

Coals, timber, and other combustibles having been already heaped around him, a train of gun-powder was now ignited, which scorched his left hand and cheek, but did not kindle the pile. The faggots would not burn, though three attempts were made to set them on fire. "Have you no dry wood?" asked the victim. "Have you no more gun-powder?" His sufferings were intense, and it was probably to hasten the termination of them that men ran to the Castle for drier wood and more powder. A baker also ran and brought his arms full of straw. Meanwhile, Hamilton "uttered diverse comfortable speeches to the bystanders;" and to the friars, who still insisted that he should recant, he answered, "Depart, and trouble me not, ye messengers of Satan!" To one he said, "You are late with your advice, when you see me on the point of being consumed in the flames. If I had chosen to recant, I need not have been here. But I pray you come forward and testify the truth of your religion by putting

your little finger into this fire, in which I am burning with my whole body." Of all his tormentors, Prior Campbell was the worst. He continually and vehemently cried, "Convert heretic! Call upon our Lady! Say *Salve Regina!*" The sufferer besought him frequently to depart, and not vex him, says Spotswood; but, when he would not cease crying, he thus addressed him:—"Wicked man, thou knowest I am not an heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer; so much thou didest confess unto me in private; and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment seat of Christ!" When the baker threw his straw into the fire, "there came such a blast of wind from the east, forth of the sea, and raised the flame of fire so vehemently," says Pit-scottie, "that it blew upon the frier that accused him, that it dang him to the earth, and burnt all the fore-part of his cowl; and put him in such a fray, that he came never to his right spirits again." The fire was waxing fierce; but, the Martyr was still so calm and collected, that he commended his widowed mother to the care and sympathy of his friends. With a loud voice he cried—"Lord Jesus receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? And how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" Other words he spake, but they could not be distinctly heard for the tumult of the people and the vehemency of the fire. Some one in the crowd called upon him, if he still had faith in the doctrine for which he was dying, that he should give a sign of his constancy. "Whereupon he raised three fingers of his half-consumed hand, and held them steadily in that position till he ceased to live." "The witness of Jesus Christ," says Knox, "gat victorie, after long sufferance." Indeed, although the fire latterly was strong, it is learned from Alesius that it was six o'clock in the evening before he was reduced to ashes. And during the long weary hours of his

agony, "the Martyr never gave one sign of impatience or anger, nor ever called to Heaven for vengeance upon his persecutors : so great was his faith, so strong his confidence in God."

Hamilton's death created a profound sensation throughout the country. The leaders of the Church expected by such a terrible example to suppress heresy at once ; but they were mightily mistaken. Men in every quarter began to enquire concerning his sufferings and the doctrines he had taught. As will be shown, in sketching the lives of some of his successors, the heresy was spread and not stopped by his death. John Lindesay, a familiar friend of the Arch-bishop, advised him to burn no more, unless he did it in low cellars, for, he said, "the reik of Maister Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon."

Knox, Pitscottie, and Spotswood all mention the Martyr's dying citation to Campbell. Their accounts vary in some details, but they all agree that the accuser died in a phrensy. And Foxe, who also notices it, says that when the facts were collected for him in Scotland in 1564—that is thirty-six years afterwards—there were certain faithful men of credit then alive, who still remembered the citation and the speedy death of the Prior. Like Spotswood, Foxe likewise affirms that this incident also arrested attention and confirmed some in their new faith.

Even in foreign lands the tragedy was noted and felt. The zealous doctors of Louvaine sent a long congratulatory letter to the Arch-bishop, in which they praise his "excellent virtue," and "worthy deed," in showing by such an example how to deal with obstinate heretics. At Marburg the feeling was very different, "the grief of the Reformers was only equalled by their admiration." At Malmoe, in Sweden, too, where a number of Scotsmen were settled, the cruelty was condemned, for in a

book printed there by John Gaw in 1583, and of which only one copy is known to exist, sympathetic allusion is made to Hamilton's death ; and the blind guides are denounced, who only sought "the mylk and wow of the scheip." The Martyr's death influenced many on whom his reik never blew. And in the words of Luther :—

" These ashes on the wind shall float
The world's wide surface o'er,
Stopped by no river, gulf, or moat,
And drop on every shore.
The cruel foe shall then be shamed
To hear, with voices new,
The truth by even the dead proclaimed,
Whom they, to silence, slew."



ALESIUS.

"Thay brint, and heryit Christen men,
 And semit (i.e. banished) thame full far;
 And said, Thay did bot erre
 That spak of the Commandementis ten,
 Or red the Word of Jesus Christ.

"Thay beneit thame in uncouth land,
 Full mony hunder myle;
 Quhair (i.e. where) thay in their exile,
 Leirnit better till understand
 The trew Word of Jesus Christ."

Guide and Godlie Ballades.

Although there is the best authority for saying that "the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance;" yet, nations may for centuries forget their greatest and most righteous benefactors. The truth of this statement is strikingly proved by the oblivion, which so long hid that noble Scottish Christian hero, of whom this paper treats.

Alexander Alane was born in Edinburgh on the 23d of April 1500, and therefore was about four years older than Patrick Hamilton. Like Samuel Rutherford, he had a marvellous escape in his early years. He and other children were diverting themselves on the top of a hill, where there was a high rock—probably the Castle-hill, Salisbury Crags, or the Calton Hill—when he rolled to the very edge of the precipice. Suddenly, he felt himself snatched up and carried to a place of safety, without knowing how or by whom. Some ascribed his deliverance to the texts hung round his neck as a charm, but he believed it was due to the faith or prayers of his parents. Even in after years the recollection chilled his blood.

His father, who was a burgher in the metropolis, educated him under his own roof, until he was fit to enter St Andrews University. He became a student of St Leonard's College, which was

founded in 1512; and in a list of names without a heading can still be read "Alexr. Allanena. Lau." This shows that of the four nations into which the members of the University were divided he belonged to that of Lothian. But this is not the only reference to him in the Registers of the University. In 1515 he is found in the list of Determinants, that is, the students who took the degree of B.A. There, forming the second class of St Leonard's, stand the names—

Dominus Ninianus Bard,	} <i>pauperes.</i>
Jo. Rowl,*	
Jo. Dowglass,	
Jo. Wynram,	
Jo. Dunkanson,	
Alexr. Alan,	

From the designation of *pauperes*, opposite their names, it appears that all the six were poor students who paid no fees. I do not remember seeing any later notice of Ninian Bard, or Baird. Rowl may, perhaps, be identified with the dissolute Prior of Pittenweem, who alienated nearly all the lands of that Priory before the Reformation. Douglas became the Provost of St Mary's College, and the first Tulchan Archbishop of St Andrews. For the unprecedented period of twenty-three years he was annually elected Rector of the University. He it was who took Andrew Melville between his knees, and, delighted with his answers, exclaimed:—"My sillie, fatherless and motherless chyld, its ill to wit what God may mak of thie yit!" Wynram, who will be occasionally met with in the course of these biographical sketches, was a well-meaning man, but somewhat of a time-server. Even when Sub-Prior he had leanings to the new views, but he took care to keep himself out of serious trouble;

* In the Notes to Wodrow's *Collections on the Lives of the Reformers*, and also in the Appendix to Principal Lee's *Lectures*, this name is erroneously given as Jo. Zoul.

and after the Reformation he was appointed Superintendent of Fife. He was certainly not the kind of stuff that martyrs are made of. His tombstone may still be seen in the old Church of St Leonard's. It was probably the same John Duncanson who was Principal of St Leonard's from 1553 to 1566. The sixth of this remarkable group had a very chequered career.

Alane became a canon of the Priory not long after taking his degree; and he so ardently studied scholastic theology under Major, when he came to St Andrews, that he was noted for his dialectic skill, and was highly praised for a work he wrote against Luther. As has already been mentioned, he also undertook to reclaim Patrick Hamilton from his "deadly heresy;" but so great was the power of the truth, and of Hamilton's courteous reasoning, backed by his constancy amid the flames, that the whole current of Alane's life was thereby changed. Like Saul of Tarsus, he was now to become a preacher of that faith he had laboured to destroy; for "not only was his understanding convinced, but his conscience was won, and the breath of a new life penetrated his soul." The rule of the Augustinian Order seems to have prepared good soil for the Word, for Staupitz, Luther, Alane, and many of the Reformers, on whom we now look back with pride and pleasure, belonged to it.

Though Alane did not at once proclaim the change which had come over him; yet, as he would neither approve of the treatment Hamilton received, nor condemn the articles for which he suffered; the jealousy of Patrick Hepburn, his Prior, was soon roused against him. It was probably with a view to entrap him that the Archbishop, James Beaton, appointed him to preach before a synod of bishops and priests in St Andrews in 1529. As the sermon was delivered in Latin, and was not intended for the common people, he thought it right to exhort his hearers

"to piety, to the study of Christian doctrine, to good morals, and that they should teach and govern the churches piously." He says, that he "also distinctly pointed out debauched priests;" but as he said nothing seditious, or more severe than he ought, nor mentioned anyone by name, "that discourse did not at all offend good men." Hepburn, however, who by his violence, coarseness, and shameless immorality, was a disgrace to the Papacy, even in its worst times, thought the sermon was pointed specially at him, and determined to have his revenge. The opportunity soon came. The canons, having for many and weighty reasons resolved to complain to the King concerning Hepburn's cruelty to them, met in the Chapter House for that purpose; but the Prior having heard of their intention burst in upon them with his armed guards.

"There I warned the furious man," says Alesius, "lest, in anger, he should aim at something which did not become him. Having found this opportunity, as he was most enraged with me before, on account of the sermon, he ordered me to be seized by the armed men, drew his sword at me, and would himself have run me through, had not two canons, pulling him back by force, turned aside the weapon from my body! Afterwards, when I had thrown myself at his knees, and, earnestly entreating him, begged my life might be spared, he set his foot upon my breast, so that, having fainted, I for sometime lay senseless! After that, when I lay miserable in prison, again, at the very doors, he drew his sword, but the guards drew him back, as they saw that, from anger and rage, he had not sufficient command of himself. Afterwards, he seized all the other canons. The noblemen, who were our friends, then related the matter to the King, who forthwith commanded us all to be set at liberty. . . . The rest were set at liberty, but I was

shut up in a certain sink, until the King expostulated with the Superior respecting me by name. This man swore sacredly that I had been set at large ! And when my friends already began to despair of my life, and, as I struggled with bad health, a report arose that I had died in prison ; then, at last, after the twentieth day, he dragged me up, emaciated, out of the sink into the daylight ; ordered me to be washed, and cleanly clothed, and charged me not to tell any one how he had handled me.

"Then he sent for the magistrates of the town, and bringing me forth showed me to them, that he might refute the report concerning my death, which had now out of prison become very prevalent. But as I knew that he would never be appeased towards me, to these magistrates, commanding me by royal authority, I related in full assembly how I had been treated. As soon as possible the Superior pacified the magistrates, assuring them that I should henceforth be at liberty ; but no sooner were they gone than he challenged me why I did not conceal my ill-treatment as he had commanded me. For that reason he ordered me again to be taken into custody. So was I held a captive almost a whole year ! I complained also to the Bishop of my bad usage, but the Superior returned for answer that there was no protection for me from the Bishop ; because, having heard my sermon, he understood that I favoured the Lutherans, and he thought that I ought to be confined and punished.

"In the meantime, when the Superior was absent, the canons got me out of prison ; and when at last the Superior returned, by chance, sooner than we expected, he saw me standing at the altar, and executing my office. Wherefore, as he judged that his authority was despised, both by me and the college, in a rage he ordered me to be torn from the altar, and again dragged to prison. The

canons deprecated the violation of public worship, and obtained a truce for me, until the public service was finished. After I had completed the worship, I was straight-way carried off in custody, to be thrown next day into that dungeon once more. But as some of the canons, who had heard that John Hay, the mass priest, was now appointed keeper of the prison, despaired of my life; when the first shades of night had already come, they drew near and informed me, that horrible tortures and certain destruction awaited me, except I consulted my safety by flight. When I wished to betake myself to friends, they advised that I should rather escape alone, as the Superior would instantly send horsemen, who would either seize me by the way, or by force drag me from my friends.

"Although affected with the deepest grief, when I thought that I must depart from my native land, than which nothing is more dear to well constituted minds, yet I was induced to yield, both to necessity, and to the advice of so many good men. They therefore took me privately out of the house, and furnished me with provision for the journey. So when, with tears, we had taken farewell of each other, and by the kindest mention of illustrious men and saints, who, from tyranny, had, in like manner, left the country, they had somewhat alleviated my grief; at midnight, in the thickest darkness, I now entered upon my journey, all alone!

"In what deep distress I was, may be easily imagined. It was most grievous to leave both my country and kindred, while, at the same time, I knew that there was no safety for me, till I reached the ships. Besides the thoughts of exile, I anticipated never so many evils, as I knew no certain shelter or retreat in other lands. I had no friend or acquaintance among foreigners. Neither did I know other languages, except my native tongue and Latin. Moreover, I thought that at this time

particularly, travellers were suspected; because many, on account of their fanatical and seditious opinions, wandered about as aliens. In the midst of these cares and griefs, I supported myself in courage, by the faith of Christ, and having that night finished a difficult journey, I came to the ships; on board of one of which, a certain kinsman of mine* very affectionately received me, associated me with himself, and afterwards, when I was sick, took care of me with the greatest kindness.

“The next day, when we had already left the harbour, there came to the shore horsemen, sent by my Superior, who sought for me. When they found me not there, the Superior called to him a certain citizen of Dundee, who, he suspected, had provided a vessel for me. With him came also to the Superior, the Provost of the town, a knight. When the citizen denied that he had assisted me, the Provost said to the Superior—‘But if I had known that Alexander was preparing to depart, with the greatest good-will I should have provided for him both a vessel and provisions, that he might be delivered from your cruelty; for if he had been my brother, I should long ago have rescued him from these dangers and distresses, in which he was involved by you.’”

Such is Alane's own interesting account of his sufferings and escape—a narrative so touchingly simple that I cannot abridge it. Christopher Anderson, who, by giving him a prominent place in the *Annals of the English Bible*, was the first to rescue his memory from that oblivion into which it had so undeservedly fallen, supposes the sink or dungeon—into which he was thrust for twenty days after the other canons were set free, and into which he was again to have been confined if he

* *Quidam homo germanus*, which some translate—a certain man, a German.

had not escaped—to be the Bottle Dungeon in the fatal Sea-Tower of Beaton's Castle. But though Knox says that many of God's children were imprisoned there, it does not quite answer to the description of a *latrina*, or sink, nor to what Alane elsewhere calls the place of his confinement, *teterimo specu subtus terram inter bufones et serpentes*—a most dismal pit under the ground among toads and crawling things. It may have been some other and more horrible den, which has still to be discovered; or it may possibly have been that other rock-hewn dungeon, which was found under the counter-scarp of the Castle in 1879—a place which may have served, as occasion required, either as a secret means of communication between the Castle and the Priory, as a sally-port, or as a prison. There the poor captive would abide in utter darkness, forty feet under the surface of the ground, and from thence no groan or shriek could reach a human ear. It is not surprising that Alane never returned to Scotland.

After wandering in Denmark, France, Belgium, and Germany, he arrived in Wittemberg about the close of 1531, anxious to study there the Reformation theology, and to master Greek and Hebrew. Henceforth, he was known, not as Alane, but as Alesius—that is, the wanderer; and there is reason to believe that this new and fitting name was bestowed upon him by Melancthon. He has been briefly noticed by Knox and Calderwood, and both mention him by his new name—Alesius; but strangely enough he got still another name in the seventeenth century, to wit, Aless or Ales. His real name, like himself, had been forgotten, and so this latter name was drawn by inference from his Latin one. And even Christopher Anderson thought that it was by a blunder of the printer that he was called Alane on the title-page of the translation of one of his works.

Towards the end of 1532, Alesius learned that his enemies in Scotland had got him condemned in the Church Courts, in his absence, for heresy, that he had been degraded from the priesthood, and doomed to perpetual banishment from his country. News of a still more distressing kind reached him at the same time. For six years Tyndale's translation of the New Testament had been circulating in Scotland; but, now, the bishops had issued a proclamation forbidding its sale, possession, or use, and denouncing the censures of the Church on all who were reckless enough to despise the prohibition. Alesius at once wrote a letter to James the Fifth, in Latin, in which he says little of his own personal wrongs; but pleads earnestly and eloquently that his countrymen may be allowed to read the New Testament in their native tongue. As he knew that the edict was devised by the chief priests, or rather the monks, without the counsel or consent of the King, he thought it his duty to write and entreat him to interpose his authority. "For what kind of precedent is it," he asks, "that men should be debarred from the oracles of Christ? What else could the Turks, or other nations hostile to the Christian name do than to take care that the people touch not the Sacred Books—that they should not know the benefits of Christ and His most holy precepts, lest any one should form a firm and distinct opinion with regard to divine things, from the very words of Christ, and the testimonies of his Apostles? What other tendency has this attempt than to ruin and extinguish true religion?" "But," he says, "they deny that they drive the people away from the doctrine of Christ. They say it were safer for the people publicly to hear the learned in the churches, than to read at home what they do not understand, what no one can there explain, and where many things, not being

understood, produce errors." This was the only argument of which Alesius knew, by which they could defend their decree. But, he urges, even though there may be some among whom reading may produce slight inconvenience, why do they pluck the Scriptures from those whose minds cannot be established except by assiduous reading? Why should they not be allowed to instruct their children at home in the true knowledge of Christ; especially since God commanded that the law should be written upon the lintels, that it might be always before their eyes? How much more necessary is it to have the Gospel always in view? "Formerly, when not fewer heresies and sects rent the Church than even now, yet the Apostles commanded the Sacred Books to be read; for then they thought then, that minds were to be fortified against heresies. These men have now found out another way." "But, since the fact must be told, they do not forbid this reading on account of the obscurity of the writings; something else agitates them. Of those things in the Scriptures that are most plain and clear, they are afraid, which they see to be opposed to the impious and sacrilegious opinions that they themselves defend, through ambition and the love of their bodies." This little tract, of which only a very few copies are now known to exist, was printed at Wittenberg in 1526, and copies of it were sent to Scotland. It is uncertain whether it ever reached the King or not, and it does not appear that any of the Scottish clergy attempted to answer it.

But it was immediately taken up by Cochlaeus, who wrote a violent and virulent reply in June of the same year. He denied whether Alesius was not merely a man of straw, and was soon active Melancthon—"that Ceryphona of heresy, that architect of lies." Luther's Testament, he said, was not the Gospel of Christ, but of Satan; and he assured the King that even the best and most

undoubted translation of the New Testament, if it was in the vulgar tongue, would produce all imaginable evils. To smoothe the path of his pamphlet, Cochleus obtained recommendatory letters from Erasmus and King Ferdinand, and the replies of King James to these, as well as his letter to Cochleus, are still preserved. For bringing the little book to Scotland, the Lord High Treasurer gave his servant £50 Scots.

Early in 1534, Alesius printed an answer to the calumnies of Cochleus, also addressing it to King James, and giving in it a full account of his sufferings. Christopher Anderson has given copious extracts from these three rare publications, and from his pages I have taken the narrative of the imprisonment and escape of Alesius. And, here, it may be mentioned, that this paper is largely drawn from Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, Lorimer's *Patrick Hamilton*, and *Scottish Reformation*, and Professor Mitchell's *St Giles' Lecture on Pre-Reformation Scotland*. In his answer to Cochleus, Alesius appeals to the knowledge of the King, and his own associates in St Andrews, regarding the cause of his exile. He likewise relates that he witnessed Hamilton's martyrdom in his own country, and that he had since seen two very good men burnt at Cologne. In referring to his adversary's vehement declamation against Luther's translation of the New Testament, he pertinently observes that it is not likely that it is "perverted by any Lutheran scheme, when this very version is read, with such great approbation of the learned, over all Germany. What folly would it be to corrupt the reading, when, presently, all the learned would have detected the fraud. But they all commend it, even those who are inimical to Luther." "Why," he asks, "did Emser, while, at the first as a critic, he had published a censure upon the version of Luther, afterwards become a plagiarist?"

For, with the change of a very few words, he published Luther's translation for his own; nor did he mark any place in which a candid reader could judge that Luther wished to deceive the unlearned." The opinion of Cochläus, that Luther's translation was the gospel of Satan and not of Christ, is characterised by Alesius as horrible blasphemy; for, he says, this reproach is directed not against Luther, but against the Word of God. He also points out that the version circulated in Scotland was not Luther's, and that no bishop or monk had attacked the fidelity of its translation, or charged any passage as being likely to endanger religion. On the contrary, he says, "I have heard even the chief among our preachers declare, that this same version gave them much more light than the commentaries of many." And the devoted exile shows the advantages that would flow from the domestic reading of the Bible. He was anxious that it should be in the hands of boys and girls as well as men; and that fathers should train their children in its precepts. How his heart would have kindled could he have witnessed a scene like that portrayed by Burns in *The Cotter's Saturday Night*. How delighted he would have been to see the family, "round the ingle, form a circle wide," to see the sire turn o'er, "with patriarchal grace, the big ha'-Bible, ance his father's pride," to hear them "chant their artless notes in simple guise," and to listen while the priest-like father read the sacred page, and, "kneeling down to Heaven's Eternal King," poured forth his heart in prayer.

"From scenes like these, old Scotia's grandeur springs,
That makes her lov'd at home, rever'd abroad."

In August 1534, Cochläus published, at Leipzig, *An Apology for the Kingdom of Scotland against the masked Scotsman Alexander Alesius*. The King rewarded him handsomely, and the Arch-bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow sent

him liberal presents for his aid. "As for Alesius, he had no other reward than that of having sowed good seed in the Scottish soil, which afterwards bore abundant fruit. He got no redress from the King of his personal wrongs. He demanded a hearing for his cause in vain. He was allowed to continue unavenged in unjust exile. But he had earned for himself the glory of being the first Scotsman, who stood forth to defend, by argument and learning, the Christian right of his countrymen to read the Word of God in their mother tongue."

Having been invited to England, Alesius went there in 1535, and was heartily welcomed by Cranmer, by whom he was introduced to Thomas Cromwell. Melancthon recommended him very highly, in one letter describing him as a good man, well learned, and worthy to be lovingly received. Henry the Eighth made him "King's Scholar," and sent him as a reader in divinity to Cambridge, where he was probably the first to deliver lectures on the original Scriptures. Edward Plankney, writing to Cromwell from that town, speaks of Alesius as a man not less pious than learned and upright. But the doctors of Cambridge soon discovered that he was a Lutheran heretic.

"The cross," he says, "always followeth Christ's doctrine, wheresoever it goeth, and the Devil ever hath envy that Christ should have any rest; for even in the wilderness, he would not suffer Him to be quiet alone, till he had brought Him to the cross. I had scarcely declared out the eighth Psalm, when I perceived my enemy going about to wrap me in contentions; which although I hate naturally, and have studied all in my power to avoid them, yet I never submitted myself cowardly to the Devil, nor ever recanted anything since I had any knowledge of Christ's Gospel. When, therefore, I would have

made answer there, for such doctrine as I had taught, I came to the schools of the University, where a great number of auditors were gathered; and there, before the whole multitude, I tarried an hour or two, looking when my adversary should come; but he, although he refrained from disputation, for what purpose or consideration I cannot tell, yet conspired against me with such envy, that there were some, who were not afraid to threaten me that it would cost me my life. After I had explained this to the Vice-Chancellor, by the counsel of certain of the wisest men there, and saw him wink at the matter, I gave place to this malice also, and departed from thence; especially as I perceived there were statutes sent forth from the bishops, and from the whole Council of the realm, which were such that it had been wickedness not to have spoken openly against them, and yet to have reproved them would have been counted a point of sedition. The man was not hindered nor put in fear by me, but the Chancellor of the University, which sent me thither, by the commandment of the King, would suffer none of his University to speak against any of the common laws. Wherefore I determined with myself to serve the time, and to change the preaching of the Gospel for the science of physick, wherein I had a little insight before. Thus I went unto a very well learned physician called Doctor Nicolas, which hath practised physick in London many years with high praise, whose company I did frequent certain years. By this means I did both see and learn many things, even the principal points in that science, insomuch that at length certain of my friends did move me to take in hand to practise, which thing I did, I trust not unluckily."

While Alesius was with Dr Nicolas, he accidentally met Cromwell on the street, who took him to a convocation of the bishops at Westminster

where he maintained that there were only two sacraments, not seven; and, as the bishops objected to his being allowed to finish his argument, he afterwards, on Cromwell's suggestion, published it in Latin. So highly was this defence of the sole authority of God's Word in matters of faith esteemed, that one of the Protestant divines translated it into English for popular use.

Having married while in London, he had hurriedly to leave England in 1539, disguised as a German soldier, in consequence of the Act of Six Articles, or, as it was sometimes called, the Whip with Six Strings. At parting with Cranmer, who, through fear, had signed the decree, of which he now repented, the Archbishop said he was a happy man that he could escape, and wished he could do the same. As a token of friendship, he gave Alesius the ring which once belonged to Wolsey, and which the King had given to him when he was made Archbishop. In a few months afterwards, the Elector of Brandenburg appointed Alesius Professor of Divinity at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. And two years later he was transferred to a professor's chair in Leipzig.

Meanwhile, as will be more fully shown by-and-by, heresy was continuing to spread in Scotland. On the 12th of June 1535, Parliament re-enacted the Act of 1525, of which the substance has been already given (*see p. 33*), with the addition, that no one should have, use, keep, or conceal any heretical books, but should deliver them up within forty days. In the autumn of the same year that Alesius fled from England—1539—James Beaton, the aged arch-bishop of St Andrews, died. He was succeeded in the primacy by his more infamous nephew, Cardinal David Beaton, who had been appointed as his co-adjutor in the previous year. On the 14th of March 1540-1 nine Acts concerning the Church and heresy were passed. The first four of these were respectively intended to secure

the honour of the sacraments ; the worship of the Virgin Mary ; the authority of the Pope—which was not to be impugned under pain of death ; and the reforming of kirks and kirkmen. The fifth was specially directed against the holding of conventions, or conventicles, even in private houses, for conversing, or disputing, on the Scriptures ; none being excepted but those theologians, who were approved by famous universities, or had received permission. The sixth forbids heretics, who had abjured their errors, to converse on religious subjects ; and ordains that those who had been suspected of heresy, although they had been received to penance, should not exercise or enjoy any honest estate, degree, or office, spiritual or temporal, within the Kingdom. The seventh declares that those suspected of heresy, who fled after being summoned, should be banished and condemned as heretics, and that no one should supplicate for them, or help them in any way. The eighth bears that those who informed against private conventicles should receive part of the escheat of the heretics, or be pardoned if they were heretics themselves ; and also provides that these Acts should be openly published twice a year by all sheriffs, provosts and bailies of burghs. The ninth forbids the breaking, or casting down, or treating with irreverence or dishonour, the images of canonized saints. James the Fifth died of a broken heart at Falkland Palace, on the 14th of December 1542, leaving his infant daughter Mary, only a week old. The regency passed into the hands of the Earl of Arran, who, as head of the House of Hamilton, was next heir to the throne. He was an easy-minded, amiable man, and inclined to the Reformation, but he was sadly lacking in resolution and constancy. On the 15th of the following March, Parliament so far modified two of the fore-mentioned Acts, that those suspected of heresy might enjoy office by royal dispensation,

and supplication might be made for mercy to heretics, or for their re-admission to the Church. But an Act of much more importance was passed on the same day. It was declared lawful to the lieges to possess and to read both the New Testament and the Old in the vulgar tongue, in English or Scotch, "of ane gude and trew translaticun." Though it was expressly provided that they should neither dispute nor maintain opinions under the penalties of the former Acts, the Arch-bishop of Glasgow, in his own name and in behalf of the other bishops, dissented against the Act until a Provincial Council of the clergy had expressed an opinion on the subject. This was a matter, however, which the Provincial Council never took up. Cardinal Beaton was in prison when the Act was passed, or, doubtless, he would have opposed it with all his might.

The Word of God had now free course in Scotland. No one would rejoice more than Alesius, who had striven so hard for this very object. He would probably have returned to Scotland at this time, to help on the Reformation, had his appointment to Leipzig not been so recent. But soon, alas! the joy of the Scottish Reformers was turned into lamentation. In less than six months after the above Act was passed, Arran was reconciled to the Cardinal. So sudden was the change that it was brought about only six days after he had issued a proclamation against him! The 3rd of September 1543 is given as the date of reconciliation, and in a few days afterwards the pliant Regent publicly abjured Protestantism, and received absolution. The Cardinal, who had now the ascendancy over him, was, on the 13th of December, appointed Chancellor of the Kingdom. While, on the 15th of that month, the Regent caused it to be set forth, in Parliament, that there was much murmuring because "heretikis mair and mair risis and spredis within this realme,

sawand dampnable opinionis;" and he urged the bishops and ordinaries to inquire for all such persons and proceed against them. To encourage the clergy in this crusade, he promised to support them in it. This Act speedily brought forth bitter fruit. Towards the end of the following January, the Cardinal, accompanied by the Regent and several other nobles, arrived in Perth. Four men were sentenced to be hanged and a woman to be drowned, and they triumphed in death right nobly. The crimes laid to their charge were convening for the study of the Bible, interrupting a preacher, adorning an image with ram's horns and a cow's tail, and eating flesh on a fasting day! The woman had despised the Virgin Mary by only calling on Christ in child-bed!

When the tidings of the Regent's apostacy and of these martyrdoms at Perth reached Alesius, he was greatly moved; and, consequently, in 1544, he addressed to his fellow-countrymen an *Exhortation to Peace and Concord, in the bonds of Christian piety and truth*. Dr Lorimer, in his *Scottish Reformation*, gives some striking extracts from this piece, and justly characterises it as "instinct throughout with the spirit of true Christian patriotism, as well as with genuine evangelical earnestness and fervour." This seems to have been the last occasion on which he took a direct part in the Scottish Reformation; but his Latin commentary on the Psalms contains many interesting references to the Martyrs of Scotland.

On the 17th of March 1565, Alesius died at Leipzig, after having been a professor there for more than twenty years. His works, which are now so little known, are nearly thirty in number; and it was suggested by David Laing that a careful translation of them, with a detailed memoir of his life, should be included in the Wodrow Society publications; but that was not accomplished. Only one of his pieces, namely, his Description of

Edinburgh, has been re-printed, and the honour pertains to the Bannatyne Club.* Besides the extracts from his works given by Anderson and Lorimer, an interesting account of Anne Boleyn's death from his pen is given in Hill Burton's *Scot Abroad*. It is much to be regretted that Dr Lorimer was unable to finish his projected memoir of him, not only because in his rare treatises facts about the Reformation are preserved which are not to be found elsewhere, but chiefly because he deserves to be better known, and the example of such a life might lead others to follow him as he followed the Master.

In the words of Professor Mitchell, he was not only "one of the first to aid Cranmer, in England, in asserting the authority of the Word of God, and Hermann von Wied in his noble effort to introduce the Reformation at Cologne;" but he was "also privileged to be the special friend of Luther and Melancthon, to command at the same time the respect of Calvin and Beza, to attend many of the great conferences of the leaders of the Reformation on the Continent; . . . to write commentaries on the Psalms, the Gospel of St John, the Epistle to the Romans, and the Pastoral Epistles, and live and die honoured and beloved in the land of his exile. . . . And if there was one among the Scottish confessors of that age, who was less embittered than another towards his persecutors in the old Church, more willing to yield to them in things of minor importance, if only he could hope to secure their favourable regard for truths of highest moment and immediate concern to the well-fare of his native

* At the sale of the first portion of David Laing's Library, ten of the original works of Alesius realised the gross sum of £75 9s 6d. The tract in reply to Cochlaeus, though only extending to thirty-one leaves, brought £17 17s. The Bannatyne re-print was sold at the same time for £1 11s.

land, it was this cruelly harassed fugitive. He was unquestionably the most learned, as well as the most conciliatory, of the Scottish reformed theologians of the sixteenth century. It was to his persistent advocacy, perhaps, more than to any other human instrumentality, that his countrymen owe the concession of the precious privilege of reading the Scriptures in their mother-tongue."

For his son, who pre-deceased him at Leipzig, he erected a stone of remembrance, but no monument has ever been raised to his own memory. Even his works and his name were forgotten in his native land till recently, though the influence of his work still lived and ever shall. His countrymen will be ungrateful to their God, who raised him up, if they ever let his memory fade again, or let those principles slip for which he contended so fervently and suffered so much.



ALEXANDER SEATON.

"Then certainly
 they had devour'd us all,
 And swallow'd quick,
 for ought that we could deem ;
 Such was their rage,
 as we might well esteem.

"But bless'd be God
 who doth us safely keep,
 And hath not giv'n
 us for a living prey
 Unto their teeth,
 and bloody cruelty."

David, King of Israel.

Knox, in his *History of the Reformation*, after giving an account of Patrick Hamilton's martyrdom and doctrines, says that when the cruel wolves had, as they supposed, clean devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case than before, for within St Andrews, yea, almost within the whole realm, inquiry was made into the reasons of Hamilton's death, and soon many began to doubt that which they had formerly held as certain truth. Even the University of St Andrews, and particularly St Leonard's College, and the novices of the Abbey "begane to smell somewhat of the veritie, and to espy the vanitie of the receaved superstition." Within a few years afterwards, continues Knox, both Black and Grey Friars began publicly to preach against the pride and idle life of bishops, and against the abuses of the whole ecclesiastical estate. He refers to the preaching of Friar William Arth, to Lindsay's advice to James Beaton, and to the cases of "Sandie Furroure" and Richard Carmichael. And then he says : but God shortly afterwards raised up against them stronger champions, for Alexander Seaton, a Black Friar, of good learning and estimation, began to tax the corrupt doctrine of the Papistry.

Caldерwood says that Seaton "was of a quicke ingyne, and tall stature;" and states that, in John Davidson's scrolls, he found that he was a brother of Ninian Seaton, the Laird of Tough. He has been identified as the youngest son of Sir Alexander Seaton of Tough and Tillybody, in Stirlingshire, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander, Lord Home, and was killed at Flodden. In the list of those incorporated in St Andrews University in 1515 are the names of "Alexr. Seton albane" and "David Seton albanie;" and, in the list of determinants of 1516 are the same names—"Da. Heyton" and "Allexr. Seyton." At the latter date, they were in the second class of the Pedagogy, and the word "solvit," after their names, shows that they paid the fees. In 1518, they both took the degree of Master, and, in the entry recording this, the word "potentes" is written after their names. There can be little doubt that this is the same Alexander Seaton, who afterwards scourged the corruptions of the Church; and that the David, who appears beside him in these entries, was his brother. Yet, it is only right to mention that another "Alexr. Setone" took his degree of Master in our University in 1501. David Laing points out that in the *Haddington Protocol Book*, Magister Alexander Seytoun is mentioned as a witness to a deed of George, Lord Seytoun, on the 27th of October 1524, which shows that he had completed his academical course, and was then in Scotland.

Knox relates that, during a whole Lent, Seaton taught the commandments of God only, ever beating into the hearers' ears that God's law had not been truly taught for many years, as its purity had been obscured by the traditions of men. His usual propositions were—that Christ is the end and perfection of the law; that there is no sin where God's law is not violated; and that it is not in man's power to satisfy for sin, but that the remis-

sion thereof comes by unfeigned repentance, and by faith apprehending God the Father, merciful in Christ Jesus, His Son. As he did not even mention Purgatory, pardons, pilgrimages, or prayers to saints, which were the usual topics of the preachers of those times, he was suspected of heresy, but nothing was said publicly against him, until Lent was ended and he had gone to Dundee. And then in his absence, "ane hired for that purpose" openly condemned the doctrines he had taught. When this came to his ears, he at once returned to St Andrews, "caused immediatlie to jow the bell," and intimated that he would preach.

In his sermon, he affirmed more plainly than ever what he had previously said, and added that there were no true bishops in Scotland, if these should be known by the notes and virtues which Paul required in them. This was carried as with wings to James Beaton, the Archbishop, who, without delay, sent for Seaton, and, with grievous complaints, accused him sharply of having spoken so slanderously of the dignity of bishops as to say—"That it behoved a bishop to be a preacher, or else he was but a dumb dog, and fed not the flock, but fed his own belly." Seaton promptly replied—"My lord, the reporters of such things are manifest liars!" Beaton with joy exclaimed—"Your answer pleases me well: I never could think of you, that you would be so foolish as to affirm such things." And then he cried—"Where are these knaves that have brought me this tale?" The informers compeared and adhered to what they had said; but Seaton still replied that they were liars. While the witnesses were being multiplied, he turned to Beaton and said—"My lord, you may see and consider what ears these asses have, who cannot discern betwixt Paul, Isaiah, Zechariah, and Malachi, and Friar Alexander Seaton. In very deed my lord, I said that Paul says, 'It behoveth a bishop to be a teacher;' that Isaiah

sayeth, 'That they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs;' and that Zechariah sayeth, 'They are idle pastors.' I, of my own head, affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God had before pronounced; at whom, my lord, if ye be not offended, justly ye cannot be offended at me. And so yet again, my lord, I say that they are manifest liars that reported unto you, that I said, that you and others that preach not are no bishops, but belly gods." As might have been expected, the Archbishop was highly offended with Seaton's answer and courage. "Yitt," says Knox, "durst he nott haard for that present to execute his malice conceaved; for nott onlye feared he the learnyng and bold spreit of the man, bot also the favour that he had, alsweall of the people, as of the Prince, King James the Fyft, of whome he had good credite; for he was at that tyme his confessor, and had exhorted him to the feare of God, to the meditatioun of Goddis law, and unto puritie of lyiff."

There was another reason why Beaton was somewhat afraid to execute immediate vengeance on Seaton. The heretic was not only the King's confessor; but he was Prior of the Black Friars Monastery in St Andrews, which was then an office of considerable importance. That Monastery, which was founded in or about 1274, had become so dilapidated, in its buildings and revenues, that it had usually only one resident friar; but in consequence of the moral and intellectual reform of the Order by John Adam, its Provincial, it was deemed necessary that it should be well represented in the ecclesiastical capital. Steps were accordingly taken for that purpose in 1516, and "erelong the restored monastery arose from its ruins in new architectural splendour and internal equipment." Seaton, therefore, held a high position among the ecclesiastics of St Andrews. Christopher Anderson avers that Beaton dared not venture so soon

on another martyrdom; and, in this, he sees a negative testimony to the power of Hamilton's death. But his assumption is founded on the date he assigns to Seaton's preaching, and that will be shown to be wrong. Anderson also supposes that the Friar's Lent sermons were preached in the Cathedral itself—that he stood on the very spot where Hamilton's murderers sat in judgment! This was probably the case, but there was another coincidence, quite as striking. Alexander Campbell, who was transferred from Cupar when the monastery there was suppressed, was the Prior of the Black Friars in St Andrews, and Seaton was his successor. It was certainly a remarkable fact that the one Prior should act as Hamilton's public accuser, and the other should openly preach several of the Martyr's leading doctrines.

The Arch-bishop and his comrades, seeing the danger that would arise to their estate if the familiarity continued between the King and the Prior, easily induced the Grey Friars to traduce him as a heretic. The youthful King, who has been well characterised by Knox as a "carnall Prince," was the readier to receive their accusations, as Seaton's faithful admonitions had been a terror to his guilty conscience. James freely subscribed their accusations, acknowledging that he knew more of that than they did, for by such things as he had shown him under confession, he knew that he "smelled" of the new doctrine; and now he promised to follow the bishops' counsel in punishing him, and all others of that sect.

Having heard, through his friends, of these proceedings, and noticing the King's altered countenance towards him, Seaton, attired in the habit of his order, left the country. On reaching Berwick, he wrote a letter to the King, which, as Dr Lorimer says, "remains a noble memorial of Seyton's manly loyalty, both to his King and to the cause

of truth and justice—every word of it is spoken like a patriot and a Christian.” The letter is given in full by Knox, Calderwood, and Keith. In it, Seaton reminds the King that his power and authority to exercise justice are derived from God, and that all mortal kings are only servants to the immortal Prince, Christ Jesus. He had left the country because the bishops and kirkmen were apparently King, and James their subject; and because, against all law, they would allow none whom they called heretic to speak or have defence. He offered to return if the King would hear his defence, and cause the ablest bishop or abbot, friar or secular, to impugn him by the law of God; and he promised that if he should be found wrong—the King being present and judge—he would submit to any pain. It was not fear but distrust that moved him to depart. According to their own law, every man, accused of his life, should have his just defence, and his accusers should be produced. This he undertook to prove, and to suffer death if he failed. The King, he said, ought to be no longer blinded, but should consider that their great objects were to augment their insatiable avarice and ambition, to keep down the poor lieges, and to put the temporal lords out of his counsel. He asked James to give a copy of his letter to the clergy, and to keep the principal, that he might see whether he adhered to its terms. “This letter was delivered,” says Knox, “to the King in awin handis,” and was read by many. Seaton waited anxiously at Berwick for a reply but received none. As Knox puts it, what could admonitions avail where the pride and corruption of prelates commanded what they pleased, and the flattery of courtiers fostered the insolent Prince in all impiety?

It may be safely assumed that little time was allowed to elapse after Seaton’s interview with Beaton, ere he was denounced to the King; but

the precise period when these events took place is still unknown. Knox has given no date; and Calderwood confesses that he cannot find the exact time, but as Knox placed him as a sufferer for the truth not long after Hamilton's death, he inserted his notice of him before that of Alesius. Spotswood says that it was "the Lent following;" Burnet calls it "the next Lent;" and Keith has been praised for his accuracy in marking the time as "that Lent," because Hamilton suffered after Lent was begun. But Keith may have borrowed the expression from Petrie, who used it before him, and the only authority which that earlier author gives is Knox, so that, after all, these historians may each have been misled by an erroneous reading of what Knox has said; in the same way as Lorimer, doubtless by a slip of his pen, has quoted Knox's expression as "during the whole of that Lent," though on the preceding page he had given it correctly—"for the space of a whole Lentern." So far was Lorimer from supposing that it was the Lent of 1528, that he expressed the opinion that "there are good grounds for thinking that it was in 1532." Elsewhere, he has stated that "it was probably in 1530 or 1531." Other modern writers have spoken more dogmatically, affirming that the flames which consumed Hamilton "had scarcely died out among his ashes" ere Seaton began to preach his famous sermons, or, that it was "almost immediately after the Martyr had gone to receive his crown." On the other hand David Laing suggests that it may have been in 1535 or 1536. Amid all this uncertainty and guessing, it is worth while recording that in the *Abstract of Writs of the City of St Andrews*, there is a contract of excambion, dated the 9th of January 1530, betwixt Alexander Seaton, Prior of the Place of the Predicant Friars in St Andrews, with consent of the convent, and of John Grieson, Provincial of the

Order on the one part, and the chaplains of six altars, with consent of the Provost, bailies, and council, as patrons, on the other part. As the year at that time began on the 25th of March, the date of this contract, according to our mode of reckoning, would be the 9th of January, 1531. And therefore it must have been at least three years after Hamilton's martyrdom before Seaton stood in the gap as a witness for the truth. It is also from this entry in the *Abstract of Writs* that the fact is learned that Seaton was Prior of the Black Friars.

Little is known regarding him after his flight into England, except that he went to London, and became Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, the brother-in-law of Henry the Eighth; that he publicly preached the Gospel for several years with great acceptance; that he was examined before Bonner and Gardiner, in 1541; and that he died in the following year. Foxe, who describes him as "a Scottishman, and a worthy preacher," says that he was denounced, detected, and presented, by three priests, one of whom was afterwards converted to the same doctrine himself. His adversaries picked out fifteen objections to a sermon he preached at St Antholine's on the 13th of November 1541, and these the Martyrologist has preserved, to show "not only what true doctrine Seaton then preached, consonant to the Scriptures; but also what wrangling cavillers can do, in depraving what is right, or in wresting what is well meant, or in carping at what they understand not, or in seeking out faults where none are." In his written answers, he asserted that he had never spoken some of the objectionable words, and that in many other things his meaning was mis-represented; nevertheless, ten articles were laid to his charge, the chief of which were — preaching free justification by faith in Christ, against false confidence in

good works, and affirming that private masses, dirges, and other prayers did not profit departed souls. Foxe also states that Tolwine, the parson of St Antholine's, was presented and examined, for allowing Seaton to preach in his church, without the license of the Bishop, and that both Seaton and Tolwine recanted at Paul's Cross. David Laing quotes as the title of a small tract of eight leaves, which was printed at the time, and of which a copy is preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth—"The Declaracion made at Pauls Crosse in the Cytie of London, the fourth Sonday of Advent, by Alexander Seyton, and Mayster Willyam Tolwyn, persone of S. Anthonyes in the sayd Cytie of London, the year of our Lord God M.D.XLI., newly corrected and amended." Foxe may have drawn his information partly from this tract; and in writing his brief notice of Seaton's career in England, Knox probably had Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* before him. At any rate, Knox reveals his own kindly and sympathising nature by the way in which he speaks of Seaton's recantation. Albeit, the craftiness, he says, of Winchester and others circumvented the said Alexander, so that they caused him, at Paul's Cross, to affirm certain things that repugned to his former true doctrine; yet, no doubt, as God had potently reigned with him in all his life, so also in his death, which shortly after followed, he found the mercy of his God, on which he ever exhorted men to depend.

It is questionable, however, whether Seaton recanted any of the truths he had taught. Spotswood states that he left treatises behind him, showing what was his belief concerning most of the articles of the Christian faith; and says that "his Examination by Gardiner and Bonner (which he likewise published, discovering the policies they used to circumvene him) doth testify his constancy in the truth, and that he never denied any point

which formerly he had taught." Dr M'Orie, in his *Notes to Knox's Life*, says that Foxe had not seen this Examination, and that "we learn from another quarter, that after his trial, he continued to preach the truths for which he had been accused." From what is known of the courage and spirit of Seaton, it is difficult to believe that he recanted the truth, even to escape a cruel death; and, to say the least of it, the evidence against him is not conclusive. But, although it could be proved that he gave way, it must be remembered that "the worth of a man must be measured by his life, not by his failure under a single and peculiar trial."



HENRY FORREST.

"SEN. VORD. IS. THRALL. AND. THOCHT. IS. FRE.
KEIP. WEILL. THY. TONGE. I. COINSEILL. THE."

Such is the couplet which may still be read over the door of the house, in Dunfermline, which is said to have belonged to Pitcairn, the successor of Dury in the Arch-deaconry of St Andrews and Abbacy of Dunfermline. The same sentiment, expressed in almost the same words, occurs in a poem, which has been attributed to James the First:—

"Sen word is thrall, and thocht is only fre,
Thow dant thy tounge, that power hes and may."

Had Henry Forrest acted on this advice, he would not have been brought to the stake. Happily for the world, some men have ever been found, who, in utter disregard of such "pawky prudence," have not feared to expose corruption and tyranny.

Though Henry Forrest seems to have been the next after Patrick Hamilton to suffer martyrdom in Scotland, yet little has been recorded about him. Knox does not even mention his Christian name, but speaks of him as "one Forress of Lynlythqw." In like manner, Burnet describes him as "one Forrest, a simple Benedictin monk." Petrie erroneously calls him John Forrest; but Foxe, Calderwood, Spotswood, and Keith give Henry as his Christian name. Foxe says explicitly that he was born in Linlithgow, and, therefore, it has been supposed that he was a son of Thomas Forrest of that town, to whom various sums were paid, by the Treasurer, in 1505, for "bigging of the dyke about the Paliss of Linlithgow." A "Henricus Forest"—perhaps a relative—was commissioner to Parliament for Linlithgow in 1540, 1540-1, 1544, and 1545. It is not quite certain whether the Martyr was educated in Glasgow or St Andrews, but the latter seems to be the more probable. David Laing states that "Hen-

ricus Forrus" was one of the students incorporated in Glasgow in 1518. And in 1526 another "Henricus Forrest" appears among the determinants of St Leonard's College. As Foxe says that he was "a young man" when he was arrested, and as so many of the St Leonard's students were "infected with the new heresies," it may almost be assumed that it was the latter who became a martyr. He must have been poor, as he is entered as one of the paupers. His connection with Linlithgow would incline him to take an interest in Patrick Hamilton, both before he fled and after his return. It can neither be proved that he was an associate of Hamilton's while he studied in St Andrews, nor that he frequented his lodging with other enquirers before his martyrdom, yet these are both very likely suppositions. And there can be little doubt that he witnessed the trial in the Cathedral, and the dread tragedy in front of St Salvator's. That he sympathised with Hamilton and accepted his teaching is certain, though it is possible that he may not have been thoroughly convinced before that Martyr received the crown. Knox confesses that he knew few particulars regarding Forrest. Indeed, all that he says about him is contained in two sentences. He affirms that he was adjudged to the fire, by James Beaton and his doctors, for no other crime than that he possessed a copy of the New Testament in English. But Foxe was able to glean a good many details that were unknown to Knox. He records that Forrest, shortly before his apprehension, had received "the orders of Benet and Collet;" and had asserted that Hamilton died a martyr, and that his articles were true. Such an assertion could only be made by a bold man, for it implied that the Beatons were persecutors, and the doctrines of the Church false. Moreover, it is learned from Alesius, that the ruling ecclesiastics were not only unwilling that any should

mourn for Hamilton, but "they required of us that we also should condemn him who was dead," and were enraged when they could not obtain this. How much more enraged would they be, on hearing that Henry Forrest, instead of condemning, justified the hated heretic! It was for this that he was seized and imprisoned.

Neither the precise date of his apprehension nor martyrdom is known, and various years have been conjectured, ranging from 1529 to 1533. Christopher Anderson suggests, as an explanation of the divergence, that he may have been arrested in 1530 and burned in 1533. If so, there can have been no haste in this case. Knox says that he was long imprisoned in the Sea Tower. Three years in the Bottle Dungeon would be a greater punishment to many people than even death by fire. If Henry Forrest endured both, few men in any age can have suffered more. Knox says that after Forrest's death, "the flame of persecutioun ceased, till the death of Maistir Normound Gowrlay, the space of *ten yearis* or neyrby." This is manifestly a mistake. In speaking of Norman Gourlay, Foxe fixes the date of his trial as "within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forrest or thereabout." If Knox wrote ten years by a clerical error for ten months, then Foxe and he are at one, and October 1533 may be taken as the approximate date of Forrest's burning. While at liberty, and while there was a likelihood of gaining converts, he had not hesitated to express his opinions on Hamilton's death and doctrine; but after his seizure he maintained a discreet silence. There seems to have been some difficulty in getting evidence against him, and as it was not deemed advisable to take his life without proof of some kind, recourse was again had to stratagem. Though Alexander Campbell had still been alive, it would hardly have been possible to use him again. His very name would have been enough to put a

second victim on the alert ; but, unfortunately, men of his stamp have ever been too common. A friar named Walter Laing was sent to hear his confession, and to him Forrest secretly avowed that, in his conscience, "he thought Master Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully put to death, and that his articles were true and not heretical." Never was confidence more thoroughly mis-placed. "The friar," says Foxe, "came and uttered to the Bishop the confession that he had heard, which before was not thoroughly known. Hereupon it followed, that his confession being brought as sufficient probation against him, he was therefore convented before the Council of the clergy and doctors, and there concluded to be a heretic, equal in iniquity with Master Patrick Hamelton, and there decreed to be given to the secular judges, to suffer death."

On the day appointed for his death, he was brought before the ecclesiastics in order to be degraded. "As soon as he entered in at the door," says Foxe, "and saw the faces of the clergy, perceiving whereunto they tended, he cried with a loud voice, saying, 'Fie on falsehood ! Fie on false friars, revealers of confession ! After this day let no man ever trust any false friars, contentners of God's Word, and deceivers of men !' And so they proceeding to degrade him of his small orders of Benet and Collet,* he said,

* Lyon, in quoting Foxe, in his *History of St Andrews*, says :—"There is, probably, an inaccuracy here. He belonged to the *ordo Benedictæ Collette*, a devout female of Picardy, who established an order both of monks and nuns in the fifteenth century. I am indebted for this explanation to a Roman Catholic clergyman." Although this is ingenious, it is far from satisfactory. There does not seem to have been any such order in this country. For the true explanation, I am obliged to Professor Mitchell. Foxe might well call them the "small orders of Benet and Collet," for in reality they were only those of exorcist and acolyte ! Benet was derived from the French word *benit*, blessed ; and the shortening of "acolyte" into "collet" is so apparent that it need hardly be pointed out.

with a loud voice, 'Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism!' meaning thereby whatsoever is besides that which Christ himself instituted, whereof there is a great rabblement in baptism." He seems to have been degraded in the open air, probably in some enclosed place, hence the reference to his entering in at the door. But it is impossible to determine the precise spot from Foxe's description of it—"a green place, being between the Castle of St Andrews and another place called Monymaill." The Martyrologist derived his information from written testimonies sent to him from Scotland, and, as he had no personal knowledge of the locality, he might easily mistake the name of a place. The Bishops of St Andrews had a residence at Monimaill, part of which is still standing; but, as the crow flies, it is thirteen miles from St Andrews Castle; and therefore it would have been absurd to describe the spot as "a green place" between the two. In such a compass there might be a thousand green places then, as there are still. Monymaill is perhaps a typographical error, or, as is more likely, there may have been another place bearing that name, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Castle. It is very improbable that he was taken out of St Andrews to be degraded, as that ceremony was, doubtless, intended to have a beneficial effect on the beholders, and especially on those who were in orders.

"After his degradation," says Foxe, "they condemned him as a heretic equal with Master Patrick aforesaid. And so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of His Gospel." Knox records that "he deid constantie, and with great patience."

According to Spotswood, Petrie, Burnet, and Keith, it was while the clergy were consulting about his death, that the advice was given to Beaton to burn him in a low cellar, because the

reik of Patrick Hamilton infected all on whom it blew. The advice, at whatever time it may have been offered, was not taken. Foxe states that he was burned "at the north church-stile of the Abbey Church of St Andrews, to the intent that all the people of Forfar [or Angus] might see the fire, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine which they term by the name of heresy." Calderwood has simply copied Foxe, and Spotswood's words are almost the same—"at the north stile of the Abbey Church." Petrie, too, points to the same place, for he says that it was "at the north side of the Abbey." They all give the same reason for the selection of the spot, to wit, that the inhabitants of Forfarshire might see the fire and take warning.

Though so little is known about the closing scene, it may well be believed that his constancy amid the flames had a powerful effect in opening the eyes of the people. Men could not behold such terrible sufferings without being led to ponder on the supposed crime for which they were inflicted; and the patience with which they were endured would pre-dispose the spectators to think favourably both of the Martyr and his beliefs. Hamilton's martyrdom, with all its horrors and triumphs, would be vividly recalled. He was burned ~~there~~ only the people of St Andrews could see him; but, as the heresy had since spread widely, Henry Forrest was sacrificed where the smoke and the flames might be a beacon to a great country-side. Christopher Anderson points out a remarkable coincidence. He says:—"We know not the origin, but it is a curious fact, that, looking in the direction from whence this fire was placed to be visible, the name of Luther has been stamped on the soil. Hence, on the borders of Angus, in the parish of Marykirk, we have not only the village of Luthermoor, but the tributary stream of Luther, running into the North Esk; as well as

Luther Bridge and Luther Mill, named after the stream." It was quite as remarkable that one of the two martyrs next burned belonged to that neighbourhood. David Stratoun, whose estate of Whitatoun was at the mouth of the North Eak, first got into trouble by insisting that if the clergy would have every tenth fish that he caught, they should get them where he got them, and so he threw them back into the sea. He and Norman Gourlay were led to a place near the Rood of Greenside, between Leith and Edinburgh, in August 1534, "and thair," says Knox, "thei two war boyth hangend and brunt, according to the mercy of the Papisticall Kirk."



JOHN FYFE.

"One of the softest pillows Christ hath is laid under the witnesses' heads, though often they must set down their bare feet among thorns."—*Samuel Rutherford.*

Many others were brought to trouble about the same time as Stratoun and Gourlay, some of whom recanted and others fled. Several of the fugitives had been educated in St Andrews, and probably imbibed their heresy while here; but, as they had left this City and settled in other places before they were suspected, I pass them over. There were two, however, who had to fly from St Andrews, namely, John Fyfe and Gavin Logie, and of them a short account will now be given.

Scarcely the bare outline of the life of John Fyfe has been recorded. He studied at St Leonard's College under Gavin Logie, and took his degree in 1524. There can be little doubt that he was then acquainted with Hamilton, and afterwards witnessed his martyrdom. Spotswood says that he was one of those, who, when summoned in 1534, failed to appear; and, sentence having been pronounced against them, they fled into England, "where they remained a while well entertained." There Fyfe met Alesius again, and he also had to escape from that country in 1539. Knox, Spotswood, Petrie, and Burnet, allege that they were both professors at Leipzig. But Calderwood, while mentioning that Fyfe was admired for his good behaviour and great learning, and adding that he remained a long time in Leipzig, says nothing about him being a professor there or elsewhere. No trace of Fyfe's name has been found in the Registers of that University. The difficulty has been practically solved by supposing that Leipzig had been confounded with Frankfurt-on-the-Oder. Alesius was a professor there

before he went to Leipzig, and a Scotchman named John Fidelis was inscribed in the Registers of Frankfort University, in 1547, as Professor of Philosophy and Divinity. Fyfe and Fidelis have been identified as the same person. Of the four fugitives whom Knox mentions at that time, he says that Fyfe was the only one who ever returned to comfort this country with his bodily presence. That statement does not necessarily imply that he paid more than a transient visit to his native land; but Calderwood says that he "returned into Scotland, and died in Sanct Leonard's, about the beginning of the Reformatioun, or soone after, as Mr Davidsons his memorie could serve." Though Davidson entered St Leonard's in 1567, it is to be feared that his memory had failed him on this point, or that he had confounded the exile with another John Fyfe, but the time he assigns for his death is correct. Relying on the Records of Frankfort University, David Laing states that Fyfe, or Fidelis, was created Doctor and chosen Rector in 1551, and that he died on the 28th of March 1562, in his seventy-second year.



GAVIN LOGIE.

"That man who, bearing precious seed,
in going forth doth mourn,
He doubtless, bringing back his sheaves,
rejoicing shall return."

A Song of Degress.

Even less is known about Gavin Logie than about John Fyfe, though he did much to spread the reformed doctrines through Scotland. He became a Master of Arts in St Andrews in 1512, and six years later he is mentioned as a regent of St Leonard's. Alexander Young was the first Principal of that College, and Logie was his successor. The date of Logie's appointment is unknown, but it must have been in or before 1523, and he was certainly Principal until November 1534, so that he was at the head of that College for at least eleven years. It is Calderwood who states that:—"Mr Gavin Logie instilled into his schollars the truthe secreitlie, which they, in processe of time, spread through the whole countrie, wherupon did arise a proverbe. When anie man savoured of true religioun, it was said to him, 'Yee have drunken of Sanct Leonard's well.'" That there was a real as well as a metaphorical well, within the walls of St Leonard's, is highly probable; but no one now appears to know its precise locality. In all likelihood, it has been filled up or covered over, and may yet be discovered. May the living water never cease to flow. Like so many of his pupils, Gavin Logie was forced to fly from the country. The exact date of his flight is uncertain, but it must have occurred between November 1534 and November 1537. Probably, it was before the end of 1535. Nothing is known of his after career — whether he was long spared to sow the good seed in his exile, or whether he fell into the unmerciful hands of the enemy.

writers affirm that it was St Andrews Castle he was confined in ; but, so far as I am aware, it has still to be proved that it was in St Andrews at all ! In the same year, two young men, Russell and Kennedy, were arrested in the diocese of Glasgow. Touched, perhaps, by their youth, the Arch-bishop of the west would have spared them ; but three "sergeants of Sathan," as Knox calls them, who were sent by the Cardinal, insisted that this would be a condemnation of what he and other bishops had done, and so they also were sent to the stake. The aged Arch-bishop of St Andrews passed away in the autumn of 1539, and ere long the Cardinal seems to have "conceived the daring design of singling out for persecution the heretics of the King's own Court. It was now plain to him that to burn obscure evangelical friars, and to banish crowds of humble scholars addicted to the new learning was not enough. To save the Church, her lightnings must fall upon the tall pines and lofty towers." Apparently, he resolved to begin with Sir John Borthwick, a son of that Lord Borthwick who was slain at Flodden. Sir John had served in the army of France, and was Lieutenant of the French King's Guard. In Scotland he was now a confidential and favourite attendant of James the Fifth, and was commonly known as Captain Borthwick. In the *Register of the Great Seal*, he is mentioned, on the 27th of July, 1535, as a friend of the King. And, in the same *Register*, he is described, on the 21st of August, 1538, as Sir John Borthwick, of Cinerey, and is declared next in succession to the free barony of Borthwick, if the son of William, fourth Lord Borthwick, had no lawful male heirs.

Two days after Sir Ralph Sadler arrived in Edinburgh, on his second embassy to Scotland, Sir Walter Ogilvy and Captain Borthwick were sent to him by James to bring him to the Court. They were accompanied by Sir David Lyndsay of

the Mount, who was the King's Chief Herald. His Majesty they found at mass, the Cardinal, divers bishops, and some noblemen, kneeling beside him. Sadler winds up the account of his first interview with the King by saying, that, he "committed me to those that were appointed to keep me company, and so went to his chamber, as they said, to dine. 'Then,' quoth Captain Borthwick to me, 'if ye will tarry here in the chappel any season, ye shall see the Queen come to mass.' 'By my truth,' quoth I, 'and I have in charge to make the King's majesty my master's hearty commendations to both the Queens here, but I have forgotten to ask licence of the King to visit and see them; and therefore I will not tarry now, but shall take another time for the same.' 'Marry,' quoth Captain Borthwick, 'I will go tell the King that ye desire that license, and come to you again immediately with his Grace's pleasure therein.' And so he went, and came again without long tarrying, and said, 'That the Queen was something crased, and came not abroad; and that the King thought it best that I should the next day, or at any other time when I would, visit and see both the Queens.' Whereupon, I departed from the Court towards my lodging, accompanied with the said Sir Walter Ogilvy, Captain Borthwick, Lindesay, and Rothessay, who brought me to my lodging, being in the town, and dined there with me." Next morning, at the King's desire, they again went for Sadler and conveyed him to the chapel, where the young Queen—Mary of Guise—was hearing a sermon in French. "When the sermon was done," says Sadler, "Captain Borthwick told me 'That the King's pleasure was I should speak with the Queen.' And therewith the Chief Herald, Lindesay, went to the Queen, and spoke to her what I know not, and then came to me, and said, 'That the King had appointed me then to salute the Queen, according to my

request the day before.' Whereupon I repaired to her."

One of the chief objects of Henry the Eighth, in sending Sadler on this embassy, was to endeavour to turn the King against the Cardinal, who was the head of the French faction; and it has been supposed that the enmity of the Popish clergy to Borthwick was partly due to his intimacy with Sadler. The English Ambassador had arrived in Edinburgh in February 1539-40, and three months later Borthwick was cited to appear before the Cardinal at St Andrews. David Buchanan, in one of his interpolations in Knox's *History*, describes Borthwick as Provost of Linlithgow, and it has been inferred that his marked familiarity with Sir David Lyndsay, whose "*Satyre of the Three Estates*" was first exhibited at Linlithgow in the previous January, may have rendered him more odious to the Cardinal. But it did not require the friendship of Sadler and Lyndsay to draw down the priestly wrath on Borthwick's devoted head. Had he been only a soldier and a courtier, he would not have been obnoxious to Beaton; but he was also a scholar and a Christian. As will yet be seen, he had some precious books, and among them the New Testament in English. The possession of such a volume was then a capital crime. Of this, there are many proofs besides Norfolk's letter above quoted.

In *Kittis Confessioun*, which was written by Sir David Lyndsay, these lines occur:—

"Quod he, Hard ye na Inglis bukis?
Quod scho. My maister on thame lukis.
Quod he, The bischop that sall knaw,
For I am sworne, that for to schaw."

And in one of the *Gude and Godlie Ballates*, the hatred to the new Testament comes out more clearly:—

"Quha dois present the New Testament,
Quhilk is our faith surelle;
Prelistis callis him lyke ane heretyke,
And sayis, brunt sall he be."

Buchanan, in narrating events which happened four years after the above mentioned visit of Sadler, says, that in these days the reading of the New Testament "was numbered among the most heinous crimes, and such was the general ignorance, that many of the priests, offended at the term *New*, contended that it was a book lately written by Martin Luther, and demanded the *Old Testament*." Popish zeal against the New Testament is also recorded in the Epistle to James the Sixth, which is prefixed to the *Bassandyne Bible*—the first Bible printed in Scotland. That Epistle, written in the name of the General Assembly, and dated "the tenth day of Julie, 1579," speaks of the great difference between "thir daies of light," when in almost every private house the Book of God's law is read and understood in "oure vulgaire language," and that age of darkness, when scarcely in "ane haill citie," outside the cloisters of monks and friars, could the Book of God be found, and that in "ane strange tongue of Latine, not gud but mixed with barbaritie," read by few, and understood or explained by almost none. And then the Epistle goes on to say, that the false named clergy of this realm, abusing the gentle nature of James the Fifth, made it a capital crime "to be punishit with the fyre" to have or read the New Testament in the vulgar language, yea, and to make them to all men more odious, as if it had been "the detestable name of a pernicious secte, they were named *New Testamentares* !"

One of the crimes specially laid to the charge of Borthwick was that he possessed a New Testament in English ; and he was so far from hiding his light under a bushel that he openly taught the truth he had himself received, even urging his views upon the King. It is not surprising, therefore, that he was cited to appear before the Cardinal at St Andrews.

Knox, after recounting in a single sentence the

troubles of Borthwick, says :—"This was done for a spectacle and triumphe to Marie of Loreane, laitlie arrived fra France, as wyff to James the Fyft, King of Scottia." But the Reformer has evidently mistaken the time, as Mary arrived in Sootland in June 1538, and Borthwick was summoned for the 28th of May 1540. Foxe gives the correct date, and Principal Lee sets it beyond a doubt. David Laing has also made a slight slip with the date. In a foot-note to Knox he gives it quite right, but in his Appendix he has said "the 28th of May 1539-40." And he has fallen into a greater blunder in stating that ere the day of trial came, Beaton had set off with the King in his voyage round the Western Isles, and that Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow, presided in his stead. From the published *State Papers*, it appears that the King was in St Andrews on the 22d of May, that the sailing of the expedition was delayed until June, and that the Earls of Huntly and Arran, as well as the Cardinal, were to accompany the King. These noblemen were present at Borthwick's trial, the names of both being mentioned in the official record. Beaton, therefore, could have been present, so far at least as the voyage was concerned. Archbishop Spotswood not only states expressly that he was present and presided, but gives the substance of his opening speech, and says that he sat in a chair somewhat erected above the rest. And the sentence which was passed shows that the Archbishop is correct. The mere fact of Beaton's name not being in the list of those present does not prove that he was absent, for he was the judge, and the others were only his Council. Laing is therefore wrong in supposing that Gavin Dunbar presided because his name is first mentioned. Grub, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, has fallen into the same error as Laing, and tries to get over the difficulty of the sentence by saying, it was passed in the Cardinal's name.

Sir James Balfour, of Dennyline, states that Borthwick was cited to appear before the Cardinal and bishops at Edinburgh, but in this he certainly errs, for the trial was at St Andrews. Foxe and Calderwood say that it was held in the Cloister, but Spotswood affirms that it was in the Cathedral, and the Cardinal's *Register* proves him to be right on this point also.* Besides the Cardinal, there were present one arch-bishop, four bishops, six abbots, two priors, four earls, six lords, and many other barons and gentlemen, and a number of minor ecclesiastics and learned men, including John Wynram, the Sub-prior, and John Major.

All the accounts agree that Borthwick did not appear, but that he was condemned in absence and burned in effigy. According to Spotswood, the Cardinal "began to expone the dangers wherein the Cathelic faith stood by the increase of heretica, and the boldness they took to profess their opinions openly, even in the King's Court, where he said they found too great countenance. In special, he named Sir John Borthwick, commonly called Captain Borthwick, whom he had caused cite to that diet for dispersing heretical books, and for maintaining divers articles contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church, desiring their assistance in the procedure of justice against him, which they all did liberally promise. Then was he called, and because he appeared not, the heads of the accusation were read." "These accusations (he not appearing, nor any in his behalf) were taken as confessed." Bishop Lesley says that his heresy was "provin be sufficient witness agayns him;" but Borthwick himself states that, although they had gathered together a great number of witnesses, no proof was alleged except their

* *Cosmobic* means a cloister, convent, or monastery, but it also signifies a cathedral-church; and in this case the latter is meant, for it is afterwards called *ecclesia nostra metropolitana*.

names ! It can be readily believed that little proof would be required before such a tribunal.

Foxe has preserved the process with the twelve articles and sentence, and Borthwick's preface and answers. A "certain friend" had furnished the accused with the articles laid to his charge, and he "thought good to bestow some labour in refelling those articles, which they could not prove," partly that he "might take away from all true Christians the occasion of all evil suspicion," that he, "being vanquished or overthrown by their threatenings, would deny Christ; and partly that their errors being thereby made manifest, they should even for very shame repent," or else less abuse the madness, hereafter, of such witnesses to shed blood. In vigorous language, and at some length, he confirms from the Scriptures those things which he had formerly taught, and exposes the sophistry of his adversaries. These answers, says Dr Lorimer, are "distinguished by eminent learning and ability. The piece constitutes, indeed, one of the most interesting literary monuments of the early period of the Reformation." Bishop Keith professes to give the process from Foxe, but he has omitted the eleventh article altogether, as well as Borthwick's preface and answers. And yet Dr Cook has said that Keith has transcribed "the whole proceedings" from Foxe's *Martyrology* ! Calderwood has given the twelve articles and the sentence from Foxe, and also the substance of the answers. Spotswood has summarised the articles, but by dividing the third, he has made thirteen instead of twelve. For some unaccountable reason, he has turned the first part of the third into the eleventh. His summaries of most of them are fairly done, but a few are not so. With one or two slight verbal alterations, Dr Cook has adopted them all, even those that are unfair. Gilbert Stuart has also copied them from Spotswood ; or, as he chooses to call him, "this judicious writer."

To quote the twelve articles laid to Borthwick's charge, and to give abstracts of his answers—some of which are very copious—would occupy too much space. It must suffice to give the substance of the articles, and summaries of some of his answers, with a few explanatory remarks.

The first article charges him with holding that the Pope had no greater authority over Christians than any other bishop or priest; according to the second, he maintained that the Pope's indulgences are of no effect, and tend only to the abusing of the people, and the deceiving of their souls; and in the third, he is charged with holding that the Pope is an open user of simony, daily selling the gifts of the spiritualities; and that all presbyters ought to be married.

According to the fourth article, he asserted that all the heresies, commonly called Anglican, or at least the greater and more reasonable part of the same, have been and are presently followed by the English, and are good and just, and should be observed by all faithful Christians, as most true and conformable unto the law of God. He is further charged with having persuaded very many persons to embrace these heresies. Archbishop Spotswood, for a reason more evident than honest, has imported into this article the words, "their new liturgy." Several Episcopal writers have been egregiously misled by this unwarranted interpolation, having unbounded faith in the man who made it. In charity, it must be supposed that they had never looked at the articles in Foxe; nor glanced at Borthwick's answers.

John Skinner of Longside, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, after joining Spotswood's summaries of the fourth and eighth articles into one, remarks:—"We may observe what an eye-sore the communion of the English Church, even in that imperfect stage of reformation, was to the Papal

Courts of those days. Both the English martyrologist, Fox, and our own historian, Spotswood, give us a full account of the trial and accusation of this Sir John Borthwick. But Knox in his History, on purpose to keep this strong testimony in favour of the Church of England out of sight, buddles up the whole process with a bare mention of his name, amidst other lesser matters, contrary to that writer's custom in cases of a like nature." Knox had no temptation to suppress the articles on this account; but Skinner is right in supposing that he was not in love with Episcopacy. Bishop Russell, in his *History of the Church in Scotland* repeats Spotswood's unfair summaries of the fourth and eighth articles, but wisely draws no inferences. Thomas Stephen, however, in his *History*, manifests more zeal. He says, "The indictment contained all the usual charges; but in particular, that Sir John had dispersed heretical books, and maintained that '*the Church of Scotland ought to be governed after the manner of the Church of England*,' and that '*the English liturgy was commendable, and ought to be embraced by all Christians*.' It is worthy of remark, that all our early Reformers held Episcopacy as a fundamental principle, and never had any intention of throwing off the Episcopal government; the clearest proof of which is, that Sir John Borthwick was arraigned on an accusation of heresy, in which his declared attachment to the *doctrines, discipline, and liturgy* of the Reformed Episcopal Church of England, constituted two distinct charges." Seldom has Stephen been surpassed in this attempt to build a weighty argument on such a foundation. The importance, he attaches to it, is shown by his italics, which I have re-produced, as well as his words. Lyon, in his *History of St Andrews*, does not adopt Spotswood's interpolation; nevertheless, in the fourth article he sees "a proof that a few, at least, of our first Reformers, were friendly

to the English Episcopacy, had not covetousness in some, and ignorance combined with fanaticism in others, interposed to hinder that system from being established in Scotland." Poor Presbytery ! if this be true, what a parentage is thine ! the offspring of covetousness, ignorance, and fanaticism ! while proud Prelacy claims exclusive descent from the lowly Saviour and His humble apostles !

But many of the vaunted proofs for Episcopacy will be found on examination to be as baseless as this. Borthwick in his answer exclaims :—"What religion at the time was used in England, the like the whole realm of Scotland did embrace : in this point only the Englishmen differed from the Scots, that they had cast off the yoke of Anti-christ ; the others not. Idols were worshipped by both nations ; the profaning of the Supper and Baptism was alike unto them both ; wicked superstition reigned on both parts, and true worship was deformed and defaced with detestable hypocrisy. Truly it is most false which they do affirm and say, that I had subscribed unto such kind of heresies, as though they had been conformable unto the law of God, whereas nothing is more adverse or repugnant thereunto. . . . Neither is it any less absurd, that they affirm me to have allured many to embrace the same ; except peradventure they do understand that I have often times wished that the yoke of Anti-christ should be shaken and cast off from the necks of the Scots, as it is from the Englishmen ; which thing, with sincere and upright heart, and with an earnest mind, I do now also wish and desire."

The fifth article charges him with holding that the Scottish nation and their clergy were altogether blinded, with affirming that they did not have the true Catholic faith, and with openly teaching that his faith was much better than theirs. The sixth charges him with affirming and preaching these errors of the heretics Wyolif

and Huss, to wit, that the clergy should not have any temporal possessions or jurisdiction even over their own subjects, but that all these should be taken from them as in England. In his answer to this article, Sir John says that if any heritage be provided for them they may possess it; but maintains that they should be deprived of all temporal jurisdiction. He declares not only that the office of a pastor is distinct from the office of a prince or a ruler; but that they are in effect so different that they cannot be joined in one man. How would this suit with lordly Prelacy? The seventh charges him with affirming, against the honour, estate, and reverence of the King, that he, the defender of the faith, should appropriate unto himself all the possessions of the Church given by his predecessors and himself; and that for this end he had frequently written to the King, and done his utmost to persuade him thereunto.

According to the eighth article, he desired, and often prayed with his whole heart, that the Church of Scotland might be brought to the same state and ruin as the Church of England. This article is thus perverted by Spotswood:—"That the Church of Scotland ought to be governed after the manner of the English." Borthwick's answer to the fourth and sixth articles completely nullifies Spotswood's design in altering this one. In his brief answer to the eighth, Sir John grants, that, if the Church of Israel decayed, when, in the time of Nehemiah, it was released out of Babylon, even so, it was a ruin to the English to depart from spiritual Babylon.

In the ninth article, he is charged with preaching and teaching that the canons approved by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church are of no force or effect, and that they are contrary to the law of God; and the tenth says, that in many ways he had openly taught that no monachism* should

*Foxe here translates *nullam religionem* by "no re-

be observed, but abolished as in England, and affirmed that it was an abusing of the people, and that monkish garments were deformed and without any holiness in themselves.

According to the eleventh article, it was plainly manifest that he had and hath divers books suspected of heresy, condemned by the papal, royal, and ordinary authorities, and prohibited by the law, and especially the New Testament in English, Ecclampadius, Melancthon, and divers treatises of Erasmus and other condemned heretics, and also a book, entitled "*Unio Dissidentium*," containing great errors and heretical assumptions. He had read and studied these openly as well as privately, and had given them to others and taught many Christians the same, that he might "turn them away from the true Christian and Catholic faith." This is the article which Keith has entirely omitted. Borthwick's answer is short. He bursts into an exclamation of mingled horror and surprise at their noting the New Testament with heresy! The others could plead their own cause, while their writings declared how falsely and wickedly those sycophants imputed heresy to them.

The twelfth article would make it appear that he was so obstinate in all these errors and heresies, and maintained and taught them with such an obdurate heart and mind, that neither his friends nor those who loved him dearly could dissuade him from them. In his answer, he refuses to

ligion"; but it is evident from the context of the article, from the answer, and from the usage of that age, that Spotswood brings out the meaning more clearly when he says "orders of friars and monks." As Ullmann states:—"The idea of religion had by degrees become so debased, and at the same time reverence for monastic life had risen to such an extravagant pitch, that perfect religion appeared to coincide and to be wholly identical with monkery. . . . The enthusiastic reverence of the middle ages denominate monachism, religion; its orders, religions; and their members, the religious."

acknowledge those as friends who had tried to convert him. They were indeed as Midianites, and he reckons them as such. He thus closes his noble defence:—"I desire the most high and mighty God, that He will never suffer me to swerve or turn away from this so holy, godly, and Christian obstinacy and stubbornness. 'The man is blest, that hath set his whole hope and confidence upon the Lord, and hath not regarded or looked upon the proud, or those which follow after lies.'"

No wonder that Beaton was anxious to refute such a man by fire. How else could he overcome one who was so sincere, so able, so well-informed, so courageous, and so earnest? The sentence of condemnation says, that, according to common fame and report, he held and published all the foregoing and many other errors, and was reputed as a principal heretic, holding evil opinions of the Catholic faith, "Wherefore, we, David, Cardinal, &c., sitting after the manner of judges in our tribunal seat, the most holy Gospels of God being laid before us, that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equity and justice; having only God, and the verity and truth of the Catholic faith before our eyes; His holy name being first called upon; having, as is before said, hereupon holden a Council of wise men, as well divines as lawyers," we pronounce sentence, that the said Sir John Borthwick, convicted, called, cited, and not appearing, but as a fugitive run away, is and hath been a heretic, and that he, as a convicted heretic and heresiarch, be punished and chastised and afterwards delivered to the secular power. The sentence goes on to declare that all his goods and offices were forfeited, except that portion which by law ought to appertain to his wife; and that his picture, "being formed, made, and painted to his likeness, be carried through this our City of St

Andrews in a chariot, and afterwards to the Market Cross of the same City, and there to be burned, in token of malediction and curse, and to the terror and example of others, and for a perpetual remembrance of his obstinacy and condemnation." It was likewise decreed that, if he should be hereafter apprehended, he should suffer such punishment as is due by law to heretics, without any hope of mercy. All the faithful, men and women, of every dignity and condition, were also warned that, if they received or harboured him in their houses or hospitals, castles or cities, towns or villages, or helped him with meat or drink or anything, or showed him any humanity, help, or comfort, they would incur the greater excommunication, confiscation, and forfeiture, and be punished according to the order of law. The following portion has been omitted by Foxe:—"This our sentence was read, passed, and reduced to writing in our Metropolitan and Provincial Church of St Andrews, while we were sitting in the Nave of the same, above the steps and in front of the tribunal, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, one thousand, five hundred, and forty, the twenty-eighth day of the month of May."

Sir James Balfour says that Borthwick's effigy was burned publicly at Edinburgh Cross; and Spotswood says that his picture was burned in the open market-place of St Andrews on the same day as he was condemned, and likewise in Edinburgh some two days afterwards. Keith has followed Spotswood, and has added that it was conformable to one part of his sentence that his effigies were burnt at St Andrews and Edinburgh; but Edinburgh is not even mentioned in his sentence.

There is some doubt as to whether he fled before or after his trial. In the sentence it is plainly intimated that he had already fled, and the accounts of Foxe and Balfour accord with this.

Laing, Lee, and Lorimer all take the same view, but Lesley, Spotswood, and Keith, affirm that it was in consequence of the sentence that he fled to England. Perhaps both parties are correct. After receiving his citation, he may have gone to a hiding-place to await the result, and proceeded to England on learning the nature of his sentence. And yet, there could be little doubt as to what the sentence would be, and Dr Lorimer is probably right in supposing that it was "by the Monarch's advice that he fled to England, and allowed judgment to pass against him by default." The King may even have been in St Andrews on the day that Borthwick was condemned, and burned in effigy, though not present at the trial. It is certain that he was here six days before—that is, on the 22d of May, the day on which his eldest lawful son was born; and the baptism is said to have taken place on the same day as the trial.

Beaton seems to have been so far encouraged, by the King's passive compliance, that he and the bishops laid before him a roll of heretics' names, when he returned from the Western Isles two months afterwards. This roll embraced several of the principal nobles, and more than a hundred landed men besides others of meaner degree. The King required money, and the prelates may have been anxious to impress upon him that there was another way of increasing his riches than by suppressing the monasteries, as his uncle wished him to do. At any rate, they urged upon him in Holyrood Palace, to carry out their wishes in this respect, and showed him the profit that might thus arise to the crown. But they were not to get rid of the men they dreaded so much. James Kirkcaldy of Grange clearly revealed the design of the bishops to the King, and the dangers that might ensue. The better nature of James was supreme at the time, and in horrified anger he exclaimed, "Pack

you, Jeffels ! Get you to your charges and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord betwixt my nobility and me ; or else, I avow to God, I shall reform you, not as the King of Denmark does, by imprisonment, nor as the King of England does, by hanging and heading, but I shall reform you by sharp-whingers, if ever I hear such a motion from you again !” The prelates, says Knox, dashed and astonished with this answer, ceased for a season to tempt any further to rigour against the nobility. Two years later the scroll, however, was again presented, probably enlarged, for it is said to have then contained the names of eighteen score, and it proved acceptable ; but before it could be acted on the rout of Solway Moss and James’ death took place.

Little is known regarding Borthwick after his escape. Lesley’s notice is brief and characteristic : —“He fled and past in England, quhair he wes ressavit, and employed in service be the King of England, sending him in message to divers princes of Germanie, quha wes his confideratis in the alteration of religion.” Balfour merely says that he was welcomed by Henry the Eighth. Spotswood states that “he was kindly received by Henry the Eighth then reigning, and by him employed in a commission to the Protestant princes in Germany, for a confederation betwixt him and them in the defence of their common profession.” Keith’s testimony is to the same effect. Could the veil be lifted and his actions disclosed during his twenty years’ exile, much light might be thrown on obscure points in the history of the Reformation. Doubtless, he did his best throughout that long period to advance the cause he had so much at heart, and though his deeds cannot be now recited to his praise, they shall yet be declared in the great day.

Only once or twice do we see him flitting across the stage during those eventful years. He is

directed to the Superintendent and ministry of St Andrews, for taking cognition of the articles and sentence thereon by the late Cardinal against him, and that they should give their declarator on the same according to the law and Word of God. The commission having been read and accepted, they granted an edict summoning all having interest in the said cause, or in anything that followed thereon, to appear for their interest before them on the 5th of September. Sir John also delivered to the ministers the "trew exemplar" of the articles and sentence, extracted from the Cardinal's *Register* by Maister Andro Oliphant, notary public and secretary to the said Cardinal, which had been "purchest be compulsatoris executed upon the said Mr Andro," by John, Lord Borthwick*, and by him produced before the sheriff-deputes of Edinburgh. The articles and sentence were copied into the *Session Record* as part of the case, and have thus been preserved indisputably correct.

On the 5th of September, Master Wylliam Scot appeared in "the Consistoriall Hows, within the Paroche Kyrk of the Citie of Sanctandros," as procurator for Sir John. He presented to the Superintendent and ministry their edict duly executed and endorsed. By open proclamation, at the Market-Cross, where Borthwick's picture had formerly been burned, all having interest in the cause had been oft-times called, but none compared to stop the declarator. Having ripely and maturely advised with godly and learned men regarding the articles and sentence, the Superintendent, the Minister, elders, and deacons of St Andrews, pronounced their declarator, finding the articles, with Sir John's explication, to be

*This, the fifth Lord Borthwick, was a nephew of Sir John's, and one of the three noblemen who voted in Parliament in 1560 against the Confession of Faith, assigning as their reason that they would believe as their fore-fathers believed.

mentioned, on the 18th of April 1547, by Henry Balnaves, of Halhill, in a letter to Somerset, the Lord Protector of England. From that letter it appears that Borthwick had again been in Scotland, for Balnaves speaks of his having left St Andrews Castle with him on the previous Saturday. It would have been interesting to know whether he had ventured back to his native country in disguise, and taken refuge in the stronghold of his enemy after the slaughter of its cruel occupant; or whether he had come with one of the English vessels. In the one case, he might be in the Castle during the whole of the first siege—a siege which lasted from the end of August 1546 to the following January; or in the other, he might only be here for a much shorter time. He and Balnaves, in their voyage to Berwick, encountered winds which were "some parte contrarius," and which, Balnaves confesses, were rather too much for him. It is said that after this, Borthwick "was sent by Edward VI. on an embassy to the King of Denmark, to make arrangements for a marriage with the Lady Elizabeth, afterwards the celebrated Queen of that name." The next glimpse we get of him is in *The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*. Among those thought "apt and able" to minister by the first General Assembly in 1560 was Mr John Ramsay, who was presented by Sir John as minister for the kirks of Aberdour and Torrie.

Principal Lee discovered an extremely interesting reference to Borthwick, in the earliest volume of the *Records of the Kirk Session of St Andrews*. John Wynram, who had formerly sat as a member of the Council which condemned him in 1540, was now the Protestant Superintendent of Fife. On the 20th of August 1561, Sir John appeared in his Court, and produced a commission and supplication, subscribed by the Lords of the Secret Council at Edinburgh, on the 12th of that month, and

directed to the Superintendent and ministry of St Andrews, for taking cognition of the articles and sentence thereon by the late Cardinal against him, and that they should give their declarator on the same according to the law and Word of God. The commission having been read and accepted, they granted an edict summoning all having interest in the said cause, or in anything that followed thereon, to appear for their interest before them on the 5th of September. Sir John also delivered to the ministers the "trew exemplar" of the articles and sentence, extracted from the Cardinal's *Register* by Maister Andro Oliphant, notary public and secretary to the said Cardinal, which had been "purchest be compulsatoris executed upon the said Mr Andro," by John, Lord Borthwick*, and by him produced before the sheriff-deputes of Edinburgh. The articles and sentence were copied into the *Sesstion Record* as part of the case, and have thus been preserved indisputably correct.

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rational, not heretical, and that they could all stand with God's Word, and be interpreted in a good sense according to his explication; that he had not failed therein, nor deserved punishment; but, as a man of good fame, could pursue his just actions before any competent judge, notwithstanding the pretended sentence, which in itself was null and wrongously given, and the givers of which had thereby shown themselves to be ignorant of God's Word and laws, and plain enemies to His truth.

It was certainly remarkable that Wynram should have sat on the Council which condemned Borthwick in 1540, and presided over the Court which acquitted him in 1561. It is also remarkable that another of the six, who formed the second class of St Leonard's, in 1515 (*see page 71*), should have sat with Wynram on the Council of 1540, namely, John Rowl, Prior of Pittenweem; and that other two of that class, to wit, John Douglas and John Duncanson, should have sat with him in the Court of 1561.

The sentence of excommunication having been thus removed from Sir John, the next step soon came. In his Notes to the *Life of Knox*, M'Crie has given a copy of the letter, from the *Register of Privy Seal*, dated at St Andrews the last day of February 1562, by which he was restored to all his honours and possessions, as if Beaton's sentence had never been pronounced.

For preserving another fact regarding Sir John, we are indebted to Calderwood. "This worthie knight," he says, "ended his age with fullnesse of dayes in Sanct Andrewes." The exact time of his death is not known; but it must have taken place before the 9th of December 1570, for in a charter of that date, which was confirmed under the Great Seal on the 23d of October 1571, William Borthwick is mentioned as son and heir of the late Sir John Borthwick of Cineray.

JOHN ROGER.

"O let the pris'ner's sighs ascend
before Thy sight on high;
Preserve those in Thy mighty power
that are designed to die."

Asaph.

Knox, after briefly describing the martyrdom of the four men and a woman at Perth, on the 25th of January 1543-4, and referring to those who were then banished, says, that, about the same time, Cardinal Beaton had divers in prison, "amonges whome was Johne Roger, a Blak Freir, godly learned, and anethat had fructfully preached Christ Jesus, to the conforte of many in Anguss and Mearnes, whome that bloody man caused murder in the ground of the Sea-toure of Sanctandross, and then caused to cast him ower the craig, sparsing a false bruyt—"That the said Johnne, seaking to fle, had broken his awin craig."

Such is Knox's account of the tragic death of John Roger, and it contains all that is really known about him. Calderwood has simply copied it; and the only additional information that Spotswood gives is that it was only a few days after being brought to St Andrews Castle that Roger was found dead, "at the foot of the back wall." Spotswood further expresses the opinion that "whether he fell seeking to escape, or that he was murdered (as the report went) in prison, it is uncertain." It is evident from Spotswood's words that, in spite of the rumour sent abroad by the Cardinal, the common opinion, or report, was that he had been murdered in prison. It would be perfectly impossible for anyone to scramble out of the Bottle Dungeon without the aid of a rope; but even although Roger had managed to accomplish this

feat, he would only have found himself in a small vaulted chamber, with a floor little larger than the mouth of the dungeon. To escape from this chamber, he would either have required to squeeze himself through the opening overlooking the sea, or break through the heavily-barred door. But the opening, though recently enlarged, is still so small that it is difficult to believe that any ordinary man could get through it, even though it were on the same level as the floor, whereas it is placed so high that it can only be reached with the tips of the fingers, and in those days the slightest slip would have thrown one backwards into the yawning dungeon, for then there was no parapet round its mouth. Or, if he had succeeded in breaking through the narrow door, he would only have gained admission to a still smaller vaulted chamber of the strong Sea-tower, with a little iron-guarded window looking into the courtyard of the Castle. No one, who has examined the dungeon and its surroundings, whether they have experienced the difficulty of ascending by a knotted rope from its depths or not, will for a moment believe the preposterous story of John Roger's escape.

Whether this Martyr was killed in an outburst of fanatical passion, or deliberately murdered to save the trouble of a formal trial, will probably remain a mystery until the last day ; but there can be little doubt that George Wishart had Roger's fate in view, when, on being arrested, he said, that he feared less to die openly than to be murdered in secret.







GEORGE WISHART.

GEORGE WISHART.

"Hah ! 'twas a priestly fallacy, to think
That burning flesh could burn out heresy,
Whereas in truth they only burnt it in ;
And, like experienced enamellers,
By this encaustic process so contrived
To vivify the colours of their deeds,
As to perpetuate their own disgrace."

Anon.

Few men deserve to be so gratefully remembered as George Wishart. After the Reformation was established, Knox described him as "a man of such graces as befor him war never hard within this realme, yea, and ar rare to be found yit in any man, nochtwithstanding this great lyght of God that sence his dayis hes schyned unto us. He was not onlye singularlye learned, alsweall in godlye knowledge, as in all honest humane science ; bot also he was so clearlye illuminated with the spreit of prophesye, that he saw nott only thingis perteanyng to him self, but also such thingis as some tounes and the hole [*i. e.* whole] realme afterward felt, which he foir-spak, nott in secreat, but in the audience of many." He who spoke thus of Wishart was himself a greater Reformer. "No grander figure can be found," says Froude, "in the entire history of the Reformation in this island than that of Knox." But for the stimulating example of his devotedness and unwearied energy, and for clear views of the truth, Knox was more indebted to Wishart than to any other man. "Seldom do we meet in ecclesiastical history," says Dr M'Orie, "with a character so amiable and interesting as that of George Wishart. Excelling all his countrymen at that period in learning, of the most persuasive eloquence, irreproachable in life, courteous and affable in manners, his fervent piety, zeal, and courage in the cause

of truth, were tempered with uncommon meekness, modesty, patience, prudence, and charity."

This Martyr was one of the Wisharts of Pittarrow, in the Mearns, where for more than three centuries the Wisharts had been settled, and of which family there were several branches. Buchanan believing that the name was really Wischart has Latinised it into Sophocardius; but it is now understood to have been originally Guiscard, from which it was changed into Wiscard, and at length it became Wishart. In the *Register of Arbroath*, the name appears in a dozen forms. Though Calderwood records that "Mr George was a gentleman of the hous of Pittarrow," David Laing was inclined to doubt the fact, until he found it corroborated in the dedication of a rare tract published in 1603. William Wishart, who was Bishop of St Andrews in the latter half of the thirteenth century, belonged to the same family, and had the reputation of being "a truly good and virtuous man." During the few years that he held the episcopate, he is said to have founded the Black Friars' Monastery, and, according to Wyntoun, he built two thirds of the nave of the Cathedral and also its west front.

Nothing is known with certainty as to the date of the Martyr's birth or early life. Relying on "a fine old portrait, not unworthy of Holbein," and "which bears the date, M.D. XLIII.Ætat 30," it is generally believed that he was born in 1513. Though the picture is probably a genuine portrait of George Wishart, and the inscription correct, yet it can hardly be taken as conclusive evidence. It is usually stated that he was a son of that James Wishart, of Pittarrow, who was Clerk of Justiciary and King's Advocate. This view was adopted both by M'Crie and Lorimer. On the other hand, Laing expressed the opinion that he was his younger brother, not his son. In re-

ferring to the common opinion, in his *Memorials of Angus and Mearns*, Jervise makes the rather dubious remark that "nothing has been discovered to establish this fact."

With considerable boldness, or rather rashness, Dr Charles Rogers has not only emphatically stated that the Martyr was the son of the Justiciary Clerk, but that he was his son by his second wife. This voluminous writer, in his *Life of George Wishart*, asserts that James Wishart—the eldest son of John Wishart, of Pittarrow, and Janet Lyndsay his spouse—was married first to Janet Lyndsay, and afterwards to Elizabeth Learmonth. It would have been somewhat curious if both the father and son had married Janet Lyndsays. The only proof, however, which Dr Rogers gives in support of his assertion, is a precept granted by the Abbot of Arbroath, on the 28th of October 1510, for infesting the said James in certain lands which belonged to his father. But the abstract of that precept, in the *Registrum de Aberbrothoc*, shows clearly that the Doctor has misapprehended its meaning. It does mention Janet Lyndsay, but it refers to her as the spouse of John Wishart—not of James, who, so far as the evidence goes, had only one wife, namely, Elizabeth Learmonth. Dr Rogers further states that Elizabeth Learmonth was a daughter or near relation of James Learmonth, of Balcomie, in Fife, that the Martyr was her only son, that he was probably called George after his maternal grandfather, and that his name was certainly derived from his mother's family. He is not content with saying that the Martyr was the only son of the Justiciary Clerk by Elizabeth Learmonth, but he gives a list of his family by his first wife! It might not have been worth while to refute Dr Rogers' errors, if they had not misled several still more recent writers. As I have already said, the precept he cites to prove that

James Wishart was married to Janet Lyndsay does not support his assertion. James Wishart died in 1524, and Dr Laing quotes a letter under the Privy Seal, of 22d November in that year, referring to his relict Elizabeth Learmonth "and her small faderless bairns." And, in the *Register of the Great Seal*, there is a confirmation by the King, dated the 21st of June 1525, which mentions John Wishart as the son and heir apparent of Elizabeth Learmonth and her deceased husband James Wishart. This does not look as if George had been her only son.

If George was a brother of James Wishart, as Laing supposes, then he was probably born before 1513, for James was Justiciary Clerk in that year, and he may have held that office even earlier. Moreover, it may naturally be inferred, from the forementioned precept of 1510, that John Wishart was old and well stricken in years at the supposed date of the Martyr's birth; for, it appears from it that in making over the lands of Redhal, Balfeitht, and Pettynardnar, to his son James, he reserved to himself and his wife, for their lifetime, the free tenement of Balfeitht and two parks of Pettynardnar. Again, from a confirmation under the Great Seal, dated 30th April 1512, it is learned that when the same John resigned, in favour of his son James and Elizabeth Learmonth, the lands of Easter and Wester Pittarrow he reserved the free tenement of Pittarrow for himself, and of Wodtounis for himself and Janet Lyndesay his wife, during their lives. It is not likely that he would have parted thus with his lands had he still been in his prime. On the other hand, if the Martyr was a son of James Wishart and Elizabeth Learmonth, he might be included, even at the age of eleven, among "her small faderless bairns."

On the whole, it seems most probable that George was the son of James, and the grandson of John Wishart of Pittarrow. James was in Parlia-

ment, in 1513; and he is named among the commissioners for holding Parliament, on the 14th of November 1524, that is, only eight days before the date of the letter referring to his fatherless children. From the printed *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, it appears that "Jacobus Wischart, clericus justiciarie," was one of those, who, on the 1st of August 1524, signed the covenant, binding themselves to be true and faithful to the King, and to disavow the authority of the Duke of Albany.

Whether the Martyr was named after a Learmonth or not, I cannot presume to decide; but the proof which Dr Rogers adduces—if meant for proof—is far from convincing. In a foot-note he says, "George Learmonth was, in 1531, infest as 'son and heir of umql [i.e. the deceased] James Learmonth of Balcomie and Grizel Meldrum.'" I have not seen that infestment; but, according to the *Register of the Great Seal*, James Leirmonth of Dairsie and Grisill Meldrum his spouse obtained a charter of the lands of Balcomie on the 6th of June 1539, and it is hard to see how he could have done that, if he had been dead eight years before! Must it be inferred that in this case two of the lairds had married Grizel Meldrums? It is worthy of remark that one of the witnesses to the charter of 1539 is Mr James Wischart.

It is not known where George Wishart received his education. Some suppose that it was at Aberdeen University, and others surmise that it was on the Continent. Hitherto, the first authentic fact in his history has been that he taught Greek in Montrose, and used the New Testament as his text-book. This rests on the authority of Petrie, who published his *Compendious History* in 1662, and who says that he had heard this when young from "very antient men." It is believed that Wishart was assistant or successor, at Montrose, to the learned man whom Erskine of

Dun had brought from France in 1534. Petrie further states that having been delated to the Bishop of Brechin for teaching the Testament in Greek, he was summoned to appear in 1538, but fled. Twenty-one years later even the professors of St Andrews University did not understand that language! In one of the recently printed volumes of the *Register of the Great Seal*, there is a still earlier reference to the Martyr. On the 4th of April 1535, the King confirmed a charter in favour of John Erskine of Dun. That charter is dated at Montrose on the 20th of March 1534-5, and one of the witnesses is "M. Geo. Wischert." There can be no doubt whatever as to the identity of this witness, and the signature proves that he had taken his degree before that time. Probably he may have been in Montrose from 1535 until he fled in 1538.

After leaving Scotland, Wishart went to Bristol, for next year he is found preaching in several of the churches of that city, which at that time was in the diocese of Worcester, of which diocese Latimer was then Bishop. His sojourn there might have been unrecorded had it not been for the trouble into which he fell. An old register, known as the *Mayor's Calendar*, declares, that, on the 15th of May 1539, a Scot, named George Wysard, set forth in his lecture "the most blasphemous heresy that ever was herd, openly declaring that Christ nother hath nor could merit for him, nor yet for us." Dr M'Crie, who had no opportunity of examining the original, trusted to a copy of the entry which was sent to him. It now turns out that his transcriber by mistaking one letter completely altered the meaning of the passage. For "nother" — the old form of neither—he wrote "mother," and then to perfect the sense he inserted "not" after "hath"; thus making it read that "Christ's mother hath not nor could merit for him nor

yet for us." In this way, instead of denying the merit of Christ, he was represented as denying the merit of the Virgin Mary! The *Calendar* proceeds to relate that he was accused by the Dean of the diocese, and afterwards examined before Archbishop Cranmer, by whom he was convicted of the heresy, and ordered to bear a faggot in the churches in which he had preached, with which injunction he complied.

Under the impression that Wishart had recanted the truth he had taught concerning the Virgin, Dr M'Crie expressed the opinion that, "Whether his recantation proceeded from fear, or from his being entangled by the sophistry of his judges, any stain which it affixed to his character was completely effaced by the fortitude and constancy with which he afterwards suffered." But, as Dr Lorimer points out, the true reading alters the case entirely. The recantation cast no stain on the sincerity or fortitude of Wishart—he did not recant the truth, but a serious error into which he had fallen. Dr Rogers combats Lorimer's opinion on the ground that "as Wishart preached at Bristol under the sanction of Latimer, it may surely be assumed that his doctrines did not materially differ from those of his patron;" and because in the *Helvetic Confession*, which he translated not long afterwards, Christ is set forth as the only Mediator and atonement. But Wishart's name has not been found in Latimer's *Register* at Worcester, and as he may have been recommended to him by one or other of his fellow-exiles, the good Bishop might not suspect his orthodoxy. The argument from his later opinion seems to me to be wholly irrelevant. He recanted because he was convinced of his error, because, in fact, he was satisfied that the doctrine of the *Helvetic Confession* was true. It is not so very surprising that, in struggling through the darkness of Popery to the light, he had gone

residence in Corpus Christi, or Benet College," where he was a regent. Writing in 1856, Dr Lorimer says, that he had recently been there, and "was not a little gratified to find that in one of the beautiful stained windows of the College Hall, the fellows of that society had recently introduced a blazoning of his name and the arms of the Wisharts of Pitarrow, in honour of his martyr-memory. The window was full of mitres of bishops and archbishops, who had been ornaments of the College, but it had only one martyr's crown, and that was our countryman's." Froude not only makes the misleading remark that he "had been educated at Cambridge," but by an inexcusable oversight places his sojourn there before the Bristol incident.

To Emery Tylney, one of his pupils at that period, we are indebted for an interesting and pleasing description of the Martyr. "About the year of our Lord 1543," says Tylney, "there was in the University of Cambridge, one Master George Wischart, commonly called Master George of Benet's College, who was a man of tall stature, polled-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled; having on him for his habit or clothing, never but a mantle or frieze gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him. He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he

forbare one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw and coarse new canvass sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I, being very young, being assured, often heard him, and, in one light night, discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. Oh that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! for in his religion he was as you see here, in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to King Henry the Eighth. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors. If I should declare his love to me and all men; his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea infinitely studying, how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words, than just cause to commend him. All this I testify with my whole heart and truth of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed."

There are differences of opinion as to the precise date when Wishart left Cambridge to return to his native land. In the above extract, it will be observed that Tylney states that "he went into

Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to King Henry the Eighth." Knox is more definite, for he says, "In the myddest of all the calamities that came upoun the realme after the defection of the Governour from Christ Jesus, came in Scotland that blissed Martyre of God Maister George Wisharte, in cumpany of the Commissionaris befor mentionat, in the year of God 1544." Unfortunately, there is an insuperable difficulty in deriving the real date from this apparently explicit statement. The only Commissioners, whom Knox had mentioned in his previous context, were those sent to King Henry, to contract a lasting peace between the two countries and a marriage betwixt Edward and Mary, and they returned to Edinburgh in July 1543—not in 1544. As Sir James Learmonth, of Balcomie, was one of these Commissioners, it has been supposed by some, that, as a relation of Wishart's, he persuaded him to return at this favourable time, seeing that Parliament had sanctioned the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular. But it has been pointed out, by Professor Weir, that the English faction in Scotland sent representatives across the Border in 1544, by whom an agreement was concluded on the 17th of May in that year; and he has suggested that Knox may have meant them—that he may either have confounded the Commissioners of 1543 with those of 1544, or regarded the second commission as the continuation of the first, in writing his *History* fully twenty years afterwards. This suggestion seems to me to be unwarranted; for, the agreement was made at Carlisle, which is a long way short of Cambridge. Yet, the year which Knox gives, 1544, would correspond with the midst of the calamities that followed "the defection of the Governour," whether by that defection is understood the reconciliation with the Cardinal in September 1543, or the evil

effects which so speedily followed the return of the Abbot of Paisley in the preceding April; for, in recounting the calamities, Knox enumerates the English invasion of May 1544, and the arrival of the French soldiers in June 1545. If Tylney was right in fixing on 1543, as the year in which he was taught by Wishart, it is most unlikely that he returned with the Commissioners in July 1543, as by the old mode of reckoning that was only the fourth month of the year. While Lorimer and Rogers unhesitatingly accept July 1543 as the date of his return, Petrie would assign it to the following year, Grub "probably before the end of 1544," and, in the opinion of David Laing, he may not have arrived in Scotland until 1545.

It is believed that on his return he went, in the first place, to Pittarrow, and spent some of his time in adorning the family mansion. That old house was pulled down about 80 years ago. Dr Cook, who then lived at only two miles distance, says:—"Upon removing the wainscot from the great hall, there were discovered upon the walls of the room, in a state of complete preservation, several beautiful paintings, of the existence of which no tradition remained." Before he heard of the discovery, the whole had been destroyed; but another minister was more fortunate, and he furnished Dr Cook with an account of what he saw. "Above the largest fire place in the great hall was a painting of the city of Rome, and a grand procession going to St Peter's. The colours were very vivid. They had been preserved from all injury by the wainscot, with which the walls of the room were covered. The Pope, adorned with the tiara, and mounted on horseback, was attended by a large company of cardinals on foot, richly dressed, but all uncovered. At a little distance, directly in front of the procession, stood a beautiful white palfrey, finely caparisoned, held by some persons who were well dressed, but uncovered. Beyond

them was the Cathedral of St Peter, the doors of which appeared to be open." Below the picture, the following lines on the Pope were written :—

*"Laus tua, non tua frans, virtus non gloria rerum
Scandere te fecit hoc deus eximium ;
Pauperibus dat sua gratis nec munera curat
Curia Papalis, quod more percipimus—
Hæc carmina potius legenda, caecos imitando."*

The first four lines are thus rendered :—"Thy merit, not thy craft ; thy worth, not thy ambition, raised thee to this pitch of eminence. The Papal Curia, as we well know, gives freely to the poor, nor grudges its gifts." So far, the inscription is rather complimentary to the Pope, but the fifth line informs us that the legend is to be read by imitating crabs. Following this direction, it runs—"The Papal Curia, as we well know, grudges its gifts, nor bestows on the poor freely. To this pitch of eminence thy ambition raised thee, not thy worth—thy craft, not thy merit." The lines were not Wishart's own, for they are found in almost exactly the same form in a small book of pasquils, bearing to have been printed at Rome in 1537. But the Martyr could not devote much of his time to painting. It was too precious for that. The fields were white unto the harvest, and the labourers were indeed few.

Petrie says, that when Wishart returned, after his absence of six years, he had "more knowledge of the trueth" and "more zeall;" and he adds, that, "he preached first in Montros within a private house next unto the Church, except one." Knox, too, who is the chief authority concerning Wishart after his return, states that the beginning of his doctrine was in Montrose. From thence he went to Dundee, where, says Knox, he taught the Epistle to the Romans till that, by procurement of the Cardinal, Robert Myll, then one of the principal men in Dundee, and a man that of old had professed knowledge, and for the same had suffered trouble, gave, in the names of

the Queen and Governor, inhibition to the said Master George, "that he should trouble thare tounne no more; for thei wold not suffer it." This was said to him "being in the publict place." Musing "a pretty space," with his eyes bent unto the Heaven, and, thereafter, looking sorrowfully to the speaker and the people, he said:—"God is witness, that I never mynded your trouble, but your conforte. Yea, your trouble is more dolorous unto me, then it is unto yourselves. But I am assured that to refuse Goddis Word, and to chase from yow His messenger shall not preserve yow frome trouble, but it shall bring yow into it. For God shall send unto yow messengeris, who will not be effrayed of hornynge,* nor yitt for banishment. I have offered unto yow the woorde of salvioun, and with the hasarde of my lyf I have remaned amanges yow. Now ye yourselves refuse me, and tharefor man I leave my innocencye to be declared by my God. Yf [*i.e.* if] it be long prosperus with yow, I am nott ledd with the Spreitt of Treuth. Butt, and yf, trouble unlooked for apprehend yow, acknowledge the caus, and turne to God, for He is mercifull. But yf ye turne not at the first, He shall viseitt yow with fyre and sword." After pronouncing these words, he came down from "the preaching place." The Earl Marishall, and several other noblemen, who were present in the church, were anxious that he should remain, or else that they might accompany him to the country; but they could not prevail on him to tarry any longer in Dundee, or even on that side of the Tay.

With all possible expedition, he passed to the south-west of Scotland, where "he begane to offerr Goddis Woord," which was gladly received by many. But Gavin Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, "by instigationn of the Cardinall," went

* Horning, that is, outlawry.

to Ayr to resist Wishart, and took possession of the church. The Earl of Glencairn, and several gentlemen of Kyle, hastily repaired to the town, and after consultation determined to get the church; but the Martyr "utterlye repugned," saying:—"Lett him allone; his sermon will nott much hurte: lett us go to the Merkate Crosse." To the Market Cross they accordingly went, and there "he made so notable a sermon, that the verray ennemies thame selves war confounded." "The Bischope," says Knox, "preached to his jack-men, and to some eld bosses of the tounne. The summe of all his sermon was: 'Thei say that we shuld preach: why nott? Bettir late thrive then never thrive: had us still for your Bischop, and we shall provid better for the next tyme.' This was the begynnyng and the end of the Bischoppis sermon, who with haist departed the tounne, butt returned nott agane to fulfill his promisse."

Meanwhile, Wishart remained with the gentlemen in Kyle, and preached frequently in the kirk of Galston—frequenting Barr House, the seat of John Lockhart, in that parish. Having been invited to Manchline, he went there; but the Sheriff of Ayr manned the kirk, lest any damage should have been done to a beautiful tabernacle preserved in it. Some of the zealous parishioners, offended at being excludud from their own church, resolved to enter it by force. Withdrawing the leader of these, Hew Campbell of Kinyeandlench, Wishart thus addressed him:—"Brother, Christ Jesus is as potent upoun the feildis as in the kirk; and I fynd that He Himself often[er] preached in the deserte, at the sea ayd, and other places judged prophane, then that He did in the tempill of Hierusalem. It is the woord of peace that God sendis by me: the blood of no man shal be sched this day for the preaching of it." He, therefore, chose, as a pulpit, a dyke on the edge of a meor,

on the south-west side of Mauchline. The day was pleasant and hot. Round him gathered the multitude, some sitting and others standing, while he preached to them for more than three hours. Few people would listen now to a sermon of that length; but the Word was precious in those days. The Gospel of Christ had been so long withheld from the people, that it came to them with the freshness of a new revelation. In modern language the result was a revival. God wrought so wonderfully with him in that sermon, says Knox, that one of the most wicked men in the district was converted. The tears ran from his eyes in such abundance, that all men wondered; and his conversion was without hypocrisy, as his after life and conversation witnessed.

While Wishart was thus engaged in Kyle, the information reached him that the plague had broken out in Dundee, and was now "so vehement, that it almost passed credit, to hear what number departed everie foure-and-twentie hours." To the regret of many in Kyle, he resolved to return to that town. "They are now in trouble," he said, "and need comfort, perchance this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence that Word, which before—for the fear of men—they set at light price." Tytler, in his *History of Scotland*, has presumed to assign as the reason why Wishart was formerly inhibited from preaching in Dundee, that, the houses of the black and grey friars having been destroyed, the civil authorities, moved by a regard for the preservation of peace and order, interfered. These riots, he says, took place "a little before the 4th of September 1543." But it is perfectly plain that they were not caused by Wishart's preaching, as they occurred more than a year before he went to Dundee! Knox expressly states that the plague broke out within four days after he was inhibited to preach, and that plague

is known, by an incidental notice in an old Protocol book quoted by Laing, to have happened in 1545.

His return to the devoted town was hailed by the faithful inhabitants with great delight. On the day after his arrival, he began his preaching, choosing the top of the East Port as his pulpit, with the healthy people on the inside, and the sick and suspected on the outside. The ports of Dundee were removed about a century ago, except one, which was allowed to stand as a mark of respect to Wishart's memory. But Maxwell, in his *History of Old Dundee*, in speaking of "the East Port which stood in the Sea Gate, near to our Lady Wynd," says, "there is no other gate than this one, which corresponds to the description given by John Knox of the place where George Wishart preached to the sick and the whole." In his opinion, "the Port yet standing in the Cowgate . . . really can not be identified as his preaching-place, and should not carry the inscription, which has recently been put over its archway; for it formed a part of the extended line of defence, which was constructed long after the Reformer's day." Be that as it may, Wishart's first text on the East Port was a most suitable one—"He sent His Word and healed them." To which he added—"It is neither herb nor plaister, O Lord, but thy Word healeth all." In that sermon, he did "maist comfortable" treat of the dignity and utility of God's Word; the punishment that comes for the contempt of it; the promptitude of God's mercy to such as truly turn to Him; yea, the great happiness of those whom God takes from this misery, even in His own gentle visitation, which the malice of man can neither eek nor pare.

The hearts of his hearers were so raised, that they regarded not death, but judged them more happy who should depart, than those who should

be left behind, considering that they knew not if they should have such a comforter with them at all times. He visited those who were in the lowest extremity, comforted all whom he could in the multitude, and caused everything necessary to be ministered to those who could eat or drink. The sympathies of the Town were so drawn out, that the poor were no more neglected than the rich.

In the midst of this good work, "the Devill," says Knox, "ceased nott to stirr up his awin sone, the Cardinall, agane, who corrupted by money a disperat preast, named Schir Johne Wightone, to slay the said Maister George." This hireling waited one day at the foot of the stair until the sermon was done, with his whinger in his hand drawn under his loose gown. The people, suspecting no danger, were departing, but Wishart — "most scharpe of eie and judgment" — marked him, and, as he came near, said, "My friend, what would ye do?" Then quickly seizing the hand which held the weapon, he took it from him. The priest, abashed, fell at his feet and openly confessed the truth. The sick, on hearing the noise, cried — "Deliver the traitor to us, or else we will take him by force!" And so they burst in at the gate. But taking him in his arms, Wishart exclaimed — "Whosoever troubles him shall trouble me; for he has hurt me in nothing, but has done great comfort both to you and me, to wit, he has let us understand what we may fear. In times to come, we will watch better." Thus he appeased the multitude, and saved the life of him who sought his.

After the plague had well nigh ceased, he left Dundee, telling his hearers that God had almost put an end to that battle, and that he found himself called to another. The gentlemen of the West had invited him to meet them at Edinburgh, to dispute publicly with the bishops. To this he

willingly consented, but went first to Montrose, where he preached some times, and meditated much in secret. Again the Cardinal plotted against him. He received a letter bearing to be from his familiar friend, the Laird of Kynneir, in Kilmany, desiring him with all possible diligence to come to him, as he was stricken with a sudden sickness. Sixty men with jacks and spears were lying in wait not far from Montrose. The messenger had brought a horse, and so making haste, accompanied by some honest men, Wishart left the town. But he suddenly stopped, mused a little, and then, turning back, said, "I will not go; I am forbidden of God; I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what ye find." They soon discovered the ambush, and told him of it. "I know," he said, "that I shall finish this my life in that blood-thirsty man's hands; but it will not be in this manner!"

It was greatly against the judgment of Erakine of Dun that Wishart set out to keep his appointment at Edinburgh. On his way, he passed through Dundee to Inver-Gowrie, where he stayed a night in the house of James Watson. Before day-break he was observed to go into the yard, by two of his friends, who quietly followed him. After walking up and down in an alley, sobbing and groaning, he fell on his knees, and his groans increased. From his knees he fell on his face, and the listeners heard him weeping and praying for nearly an hour, but could not distinguish his words. At length he rose and returned to his bed. The two men, who had been watching him, asked in vain where he had been, for he would answer nothing. In the course of the day, they urged him again, and after telling him what they had seen and heard, he answered, "I had rather you had been in your beds, and it had been more profitable to you, for I was scarce well occupied."

On further pressing him, he said, "I will tell you, that I am assured that my travail is near an end ; and, therefore, call to God with me, that now I shrink not when the battle waxes most hot." With tears they replied that was small comfort to them. Then he said, "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's Evangel, as clearly as ever any realm was since the days of the Apostles. The house of God shall be built in it. Yea, it shall not lack (whatsoever the enemy imagine in the contrary) the very cope-stone. Neither shall it be long to this. There shall not many suffer after me, till the glory of God shall evidently appear, and shall once triumph in despite of Satan. But, alas ! if the people shall afterwards be unthankful, then fearful and terrible shall the plagues be that after shall follow."

He proceeded on his journey by Perth, and then through Fife. On reaching Leith, he found that the Earl of Cassillis, and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham, who had arranged to meet him, had not yet arrived, and therefore he remained in privacy for a day or two. But beginning to wax sorrowful in spirit, and being asked the reason he replied, "What differ I from a dead man, except that I eat and drink ? To this time, God has used my labours to the instruction of others, and unto the disclosing of darkness, and now I lurk as a man ashamed, and that durst not show himself before men." His friends had been afraid to ask him to preach, because of the danger to him ; but he said that if they and others dared to hear him, he would let God provide for him. This was in the early part of December 1545, and next Sabbath he preached in Leith on the parable of the Sower. As the Governor and Cardinal were soon expected in Edinburgh, the gentlemen of Lothian thought he should not remain in Leith, so "thet tooke him with thame, ' and kept him sometimes in Brun-

stone, sometimes at Long-Niddry, and at other times at Ormiston. On the following Sabbath, he preached twice in the kirk of Inveresk to "a great confluence of people." Two grey-friars stood in the door whispering to those who came in. The preacher asked the people to make room for them, as they had perhaps come to learn, and urged them to come near, that they might "hear the word of verity," which would that day seal in them either their salvation or condemnation. Supposing that they would have been quiet, he proceeded with his sermon, in which he was vehement against the false worship of God; but, perceiving that they were still troubling those who stood near them, he denounced them as sergeants of Satan and deceivers of souls, who would neither hear God's truth themselves nor suffer others to hear it. "Depart," he exclaimed, "and take this for your portion—God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy: within this realm ye shall be abominable unto men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate." Turning to the people, he said, "Yon wicked men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger." After the sermon was ended, Sir George Douglas, brother of Archibald, seventh Earl of Angus, publicly affirmed, "I know that my Lord Governor, and my Lord Cardinal shall hear that I have been at this preaching. Say unto them that I will avow it, and will not only maintain the doctrine that I have heard, but also the person of the teacher to the uttermost of my power!" After the work of that day was done, he went to Longniddry; and on the two following Sabbaths he preached in Tranent, with the like grace, and to as great a multitude of people. Knox, who had attended him carefully since he came to Lothian, says, that in all his sermons, after leaving Forfarshire, "he forspake the shortnes of the tyme that he had to travall, and of his death, the day

whairof he said approached neyar then any wold beleve.'

Towards the middle of January, he went to Haddington, where, in the forenoon, he had a reasonably large audience; but in the afternoon, and next forenoon, the attendance was very meagre. It was supposed that the Earl of Bothwell had been induced by the Cardinal to use his influence in keeping back the people. The first night he spent in the town with David Forres, afterwards General of the Mint, the second night he passed in Lethington, with Sir Richard Maitland. On the following day, before the time of preaching, a boy brought him a letter containing the information, that the gentlemen of the West could not keep their appointment at Edinburgh. Calling for Knox, he told him that he wearied of the world, for he perceived that men began to weary of God. He paced up and down behind the high-altar for fully half an hour, his countenance declaring the grief and alteration of his mind. At last he entered the pulpit, but instead of discoursing to the "little flock," chiefly on the second table of the law, as he had intended, he dwelt most on the despising of God's Word, and the troubles that were coming on Haddington. "He declared all the plagues that ensewed," says Knox, "as plainlie as after our eyes saw thame performed." This proved to be Wishart's last sermon, for he was arrested that very night.

Knox, who at this time was tutor at Long-Niddry, was anxious to accompany him, when he left Haddington; but Wishart forbade him, and, causing the two-handed sword, which the zealous disciple had carried in his defence, to be taken from him, said, "Nay, return to your bairns, and God bless you! One is sufficient for a sacrifice!" After supper at Ormiston House, he spoke comfortably of the death of God's chosen children; then merrily saying, "Methinks that I desire

earnestly to sleep," he asked, "Will we sing a psalm?" Having joined with them in singing part of the 51st Psalm, which had been put in Scottish metre, and ran thus—

"Have mercy on me, O good Lord,
After Thy great mercie,"

he retired to his bed with these words, "God grant quiet rest."

Before mid-night, the Earl of Bothwell, then High Sheriff of the county of Haddington, surrounded the house, and calling for the Laird told him that it was in vain to attempt to hold out, for the Governor and Cardinal were coming with all their power. Bothwell further declared that if they would deliver "the man" to him, he would promise on his honour that he should be safe, and that the Cardinal would not have it in his power to hurt him. At the first alarm, Wishart had said, "Open the yetts; the blessed will of my God be done!" And now Bothwell was allowed to enter. Wishart rejoiced in the hope that he would permit nothing to be done to him against the order of law, adding—"I am not ignorant, that their law is nothing but corruption, and a cloak to shed the blood of the saints; but yet I less fear to die openly than secretly to be murdered." Bothwell renewed his promise, more amply and emphatically than before; and over the solemn compact hands were "stracked."

Wishart was immediately conveyed to Elphinston, where the Cardinal was waiting, who sent back, in haste, to apprehend the young Laird of Calder, Orichton of Brunstone, and the Laird of Ormiston. Brunstone managed to escape, but the other two were seized. Wishart was first carried to Edinburgh, but was thereafter taken for appearance sake to Hailes Castle—Bothwell's principal stronghold in Lothian. According to Knox, various means were used to make Bothwell break his promise. The Cardinal gave gold, and

that largely; and the Queen Mother promised favours, if he would deliver "Maister George" to be kept in Edinburgh Castle. He resisted at first; "butt," says Knox, "ane effeminat man can nott long withstand the assaultes of a gratus Quein." An entry in the *Register of the Privy Council*, dated the 19th of January, bears that Bothwell appeared before the Council, and bound and obliged himself "to deliver Maister George Wischart to my Lord Governor or any utheris in his behalff, quham [i.e. whom] he will depute to ressave him, betwix this and the penult day of Januar instant inclusive, and sall kepe him surelie and answer for him in the meyntyme." He was soon transported to Edinburgh Castle, where "he remaned nott many dayis." As Knox puts it, Pilate obeyed Caiphas, and "the servand of God" was handed over to "that bloody wolfe, the Cardinall," who by the end of January had him safely in his Bottle Dungeon. There he was kept for a month, until Beaton got the bishope and other prominent clergy convened in St Andrews. How he was treated during that time, Knox could not tell with certainty, but he understood that he wrote something, which was suppressed by the enemies.

Knox is unjustly regarded by many as an austere and gloomy bigot, whereas, in truth, few men have been so richly imbued with the irrepressible spirit of jovial humour. Keenly, indeed, did he feel the cruel and undeserved death of his beloved "Maister George;" and with indignation and bitterness he hurls harsh epithets at the heads of the relentless persecutors; yet, in recording his arrest and trial, he could not resist introducing an amusing story, about the contention for precedence between the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Glasgow. His glee fairly boils over as he describes how their respective cross-bearers strove for state, at the chancel-door of Glasgow Cathedral; how from

glooming they came to shouldering, from shouldering to buffets, and from dry blows with "neffis" to smashing with crosses; how the fray proceeded till rochets were rent, tippets torn, and crowns knapped; and how they could not buckle each other by the "byrre," as bold men would have done, because many of them lacked beards. He felt that such a digression was somewhat out of place, and so he says, If we interlace merriness with earnest matters, pardon us, good reader, for the fact is so notable that it deserveth long memory. The enmity between the two chief ecclesiastics was deemed mortal, and without hope of reconciliation; but, like Pilate and Herod of old, they became friends over the death of the innocent.

The Cardinal had summoned his bishops and clergy to convocate at St Andrews before the end of February; and the Dean was sent to the dungeon to formally cite the victim—who was straitly bound in irons—to appear next day and give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine. On the following morning, Beaton's servants, in their most warlike array, convoyed the bishops to the Cathedral. Wishart was also led thither by the Captain of the Castle and a hundred men. As he entered the door, he threw his purse to a poor infirm beggar. An account of the trial and martyrdom, along with Sir David Lyndsay's *Tragedie of the Cardinall*, was published in black-letter not long afterwards. The portion of this rare tract referring to Wishart was embodied by Foxe, in his *Acts and Monuments*, from which it was copied by Knox. From that account, it is learned that Wynram began the proceedings by preaching on the parable of the Tares, and his sermon could hardly satisfy, far less gratify, the judges; for he asserted that the evil seed, to wit, heresy, was caused by the ignorance of those who had the cure of souls. He also dilated on the virtues which bishops ought to

possess ; and affirmed that heresy should be known "by the undoubted touchstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled Word of God." It was, perhaps, to conciliate them, after thus treading on their toes, that he wound up his sermon by declaring that heretics should be put down in this present life ; although his text said, "Let them grow unto the harvest."

Whenever the sermon was ended, Wishart was placed in the pulpit, and opposite him stood his accuser, John Lauder, who read, with great vigour, the eighteen articles charged against him. According to the old account, "when that this fed sow had read throughout all his lying menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at the mouth like a boar, he spat at Master George's face, saying, 'What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runnagate ! traitor ! thief ! which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee ?'" After kneeling in prayer, the Martyr began his defence, by repudiating in general terms many of the things laid to his charge, and craving liberty to propound his doctrines in their hearing, that they might know what he really taught. "First and chiefly," he said, "since the time I came into this realm, I taught nothing but the Ten Commandments of God, the Twelve Articles of the Faith, and the Prayer of the Lord in the mother tongue. Moreover in Dundee, I taught the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans. And I shall show your discretions faithfully, what fashion and manner I used when I taught, without any human dread, so that your discretions give me your ears benevolent and attent." Before he could say more, the accuser cried out, "Thou heretic, runnagate, traitor, and thief ! it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the Church. We forethink that thou hast been a preacher too long !" Then the bishops and

their accomplices expressed the opinion, that, if he were allowed to preach, he would convince the people that he was right and they were wrong. Master George, seeing their intention, appealed from the Cardinal to the Governor; but would have been condemned without any further trial, if several of those present had not advised the Cardinal to cause the eighteen articles to be again read, and his answers heard one by one, in order that the people might not say he had been wrongfully condemned. Right nobly did he confess his faith, and witness for the truth, answering each article as best he might amid interruptions and revilings. As he was defending himself against one charge, his mouth was frequently stopped by another.

Here is the first article with which he was charged:—"Thou false heretic, runnagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people! thou despisest the Holy Church's and in like case contemneth my Lord Governor's authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preachedst in Dundee, and wast charged by my Lord Governor's authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldst not obey, but perseveredst in the same; and therefore the Bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the Devil's hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldst preach no more. Yet notwithstanding thou didst continue obstinately." As Dundee was in the see of St Andrews, not of Brechin, there seems to be some confusion in this article. Perhaps, the cursing, or excommunication, referred to, was pronounced in 1538, when Wishart fled from Montrose, on the Bishop of Brechin citing him for teaching the New Testament in Greek. In reply to the article, the Martyr insisted that we ought to obey God rather than men. Some of the charges were trifling enough, as for example, that he had said "that the priest, standing at the altar, saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in

July." Boldly did he state, in his answers, that God must be worshipped in spirit and in truth ; that auricular confession was not a sacrament ; that conjurings and exorcisms are not conformable to God's Word ; that Christ is the only Mediator, and that prayer should not be addressed to saints ; that it was lawful for priests to marry ; and, that, without the express testimony of Scripture, he would affirm nothing. After declaring that he could find no proof in the Bible for such a place as Purgatory, he challenged his accuser, if he had found any, to show it now. "This doth," we are told, "had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a beetle in that matter."

When a chaplain said that he had the Devil, and the spirit of error within him, a child remarked — "The Devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak !" When he avowed that he would obey General Councils, if in accordance with the Word of God, "the ravening wolves," it is said, "turned unto madness," and exclaimed — "Wherefore do we let him speak any further ? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them !" One grey-friar, standing behind Lauder, urged that accuser to read the rest of the articles without waiting for his answers, "for," said he, "we may not abide them, no more than the Devil may abide the sign of the cross, when it is named !" When, at one point, the bishops laughed and mocked at their victim, he meekly said, "Though that these sayings appear scornful, and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of a great value, because they stand not only upon my life, but also the honour and glory of God." It is recorded that "many godly men, beholding the madness and great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Master George, did greatly mourn and lament."

He was charged with saying, "It is vain to

build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in churches made with men's hands." In defence, he proved, from the words of Solomon and Job, that God, indeed, could not be comprehended in one place, because infinite; yet he added, "I never said that churches should be destroyed, but, on the contrary, I affirm ever, that churches should be sustained and upholden; that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, wheresoever is true preaching of the Word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself; so that both these sayings are true together—God cannot be comprehended in any place; and, Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in His name, there is He present in the midst of them." Again he challenged his accuser, if he thought otherwise, to show his reasons. What an excellent opportunity this would have been for Lauder to cast the Dundee riots in his teeth, if, as has been recently asserted, he was responsible for them, or connected with them in any way. But without answering one word, the accuser proceeded with the next article. The last charge brought against Wishart probably astonished him most—"Thou, false heretic! hast preached openly, saying, that the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day." From the depth of his heart, he answered—"God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive them that say such things of me! I wot and know surely by the Word of God, that he who hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believeth firmly in Him, I know surely that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life."

Wishart's "godly answers and true reasons" carried no conviction to the hearts of his judges, to whom his condemnation was a foregone conclu-

sion. When found guilty and worthy of death as a heretic, he poured out his soul in prayer to God, pleading, although His true servants must needs suffer, for His name's sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life, that He would conserve, defend, and help His congregation, chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them grace to be His true servants. The common people were ever anxious to hear Wishart, and so it was not until they had been got out of the Cathedral that "the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive." George Buchanan, Pit-scottie, Calderwood, and Spotswood tell that the Cardinal had asked the Governor to send a criminal judge to endorse their sentence; but the Governor, moved by Hamilton of Preston, instead of complying, desired him to postpone the trial, else the blood would be on his head, which answer aggravated the Cardinal and hastened his action. After the sentence was passed, the victim was taken back to the Castle, until the fire was made ready.

The old account does not specify the time that elapsed between the condemnation and execution; but its perusal leaves the impression that they were events of the same day. In that account it is stated that two grey-friars came to the Castle, and said that he must make his confession to them. To whom he answered, go fetch me the man that preached *this day*, and I will make my confession unto him. Wynram was brought with all diligence, "but," the writer adds, "what he said in this confession, I cannot show." According to Buchanan, Pit-scottie, and Spotswood, the friars were sent next morning, and he asked for the man who preached the *day before*. These writers profess also to relate the outcome of the affecting interview. Wishart consented to partake of the sacrament, if dispensed according to Christ's institution. Wynram asked permission of the clergy,

and spoke of Master George's innocence; but was rebuffed by the Cardinal angrily saying "We know what sort of a man you are;" and he was curtly told that a condemned heretic should not receive the privileges of the Church. On learning the result of Wynram's request, Wishart accepted the Captain's invitation to breakfast with him and his friends, and this he did the more readily as he believed that they were God-fearing men. But it was more than a breakfast, for the Martyr discoursed for half an hour to his companions on the sufferings and death of Christ, and having blessed the bread and the wine gave both unto them, after partaking himself. If Buchanan is trustworthy in this part of the narrative—for Pitcottie and Spotswood seem to have borrowed from him—then this was the first Protestant dispensation of the Lord's Supper in Scotland. But his accuracy may be questioned, for Knox could hardly have failed to record such an incident if it had taken place.

The pile was prepared in front of the Castle, and the cannons were brought to bear on it, lest any attempt at rescue should have been made. But there were preparations of another kind. Buchanan, Spotswood and Pitcottie allege that hangings of tapestry and cushions were provided, in order that the Cardinal and his associates might luxuriously gloat over Wishart's dying agonies. Doubt has been thrown on this allegation; but it cannot be thrown aside, for Knox, who had the best means of knowing the truth, states expressly that the Archbishop of Glasgow "lay ower the East blok-house with the said Cardinall, till the Martyre of God was consumed by fyre." And though he says nothing about tapestry or cushions, it is not in the least likely that anything would be neglected, which would minister to the pomp or ease of such men.

As Wishart was led out of the Castle, with his

hands tied behind him, some beggars asked for alms. To these he could only answer—"I want my hands wherewith I was wont to give you alms; but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundant grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities, both for your bodies and souls." Two friars urged him to pray to the Virgin, that she might intercede with her Son for him; but he simply replied—"Cease! tempt me not, my brethren!" With a rope round his neck and a chain round his waist, he was led to the stake. He knelt beside it, and rose again, thrice repeating the words—"O thou Saviour of the world! have mercy on me. Father of Heaven! I commend my spirit into Thy holy hands." Then he pled with the spectators that they should not be offended at the Word of God because of his afflictions and torments. He testified that he was to suffer for the true Evangel, and for Christ's sake. "Consider, and behold my visage," he said, "ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not: and so I pray you to do, if any persecution come to you for the Word's sake; and not to fear them that slay the body, and afterward have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me that I taught that the soul of man should sleep till the last day; but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night ere it be six hours." Then he prayed thus for his accusers and murderers—"I beseech thee, Father of Heaven! to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have, of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly." Turning again to the people, he said—"I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the Word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not

convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew." The hint of coming wrath, in these last words to the people, has been wonderfully amplified by some writers, as will soon be shown.

Headless of the torments prepared for him, he still spoke with faithfulness and charity. The executioner knelt and asked his forgiveness. He kissed his cheek, saying, "Lo! here is a token that I forgive thee: my heart, do thine office." The old account is thus wound up:—"And by and by he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and there burned to powder. When the people beheld the great tormenting, they might not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's slaughter."

George Buchanan has filled in details of the execution, some of which may be correct, but others are inconsistent with the oldest narrative. These details have been adopted more or less fully by Pitcottie, Spotswood, David Buchanan, and other writers. Buchanan says that there were two executioners, one of whom clothed him with a coarse black linen shirt, and the other fixed bags of gunpowder to different parts of his body; that he scarcely got time to pray for the church; that, when the powder ignited, the Captain of the Castle was standing so near, that he was scorched by the flames, but nevertheless exhorted the Martyr to be of good courage and pray to God for pardon; that Wishart replied, "These flames indeed bring pain to my body, yet do not disturb my mind, but he who now so proudly looks down upon me from his high place, will, within a few days, be as ignominiously thrown over, as he now arrogantly reclines;" that on saying this the cords were drawn more tightly round the Martyr's throat; and that, after his body was reduced to ashes, the bishops, still filled with rage and hatred, forbade,

under the severest penalties, any prayers for him. Pitscottie, indeed, is more minute than Buchanan, for he says :—"The tormentors applied the fire to the powder, which kindled most hideously ; and, withal, there came so vehement a blast of wind from the sea, and so great a cloud of rain brake from the sky, that the noise put all men in great fear. It was so forcible that it blew down the stone walls, and them that sat thereon, to the number of two hundred persons, which fell about the draw-well in the Bishop's yard, and diverse fell into it, whereof two were drowned immediately." If such an incident occurred, the well must have been in front of the Castle, not within it. Pitscottie also says, that when the Martyr was all burnt beneath the waist, he was desired to remember God and show a sign thereof, "which he did, leaping up a foot high in the fire, to the great joy of all those that favoured God's Word." This old chronicler not only repeats what Buchanan says concerning the prediction of the Cardinal's fate ; but represents Wishart as telling the Captain, before he was brought out to the stake, that he had seen, "in the north-east, a great fire upon the sea, which, moving to and fro, at length came upon the City of St Andrews, and lighting upon the Castle, brake asunder ; which, he thought, did portend the wrath of God to seize shortly, not only on that wicked man, who was lord of that Castle, but also upon the City." There can be little doubt, that on this story of Pitscottie's, the verse in the old ballad was founded, which runs thus :—

" The licht that martyred Wishart saw,
Red-risin' owre the sea ;
I wat it soon cam to the land,
And brake on the Castelle hie."

From the allusions to Magus Muir and Bishop Sharp in the other verses, the ballad must have been written at least a hundred and thirty three

years after the slaughter of the Cardinal ; and, therefore, no importance can be attached to it. Neither can any stress be laid upon the prediction, as it appears in the pages of Buchanan and those who have followed him. The old account, which has been preserved by Foxe and Knox, is believed to have been printed so early as 1547, and the vague warning of God's wrath coming on the bishops, if they remained impenitent, as recorded in that account, had been improved, after Beaton's tragic death, into a definite prophecy against him. If Wishart had really uttered the striking words attributed to him by Buchanan, Knox must have known, as he came to St Andrews Castle about thirteen months after Wishart's martyrdom, and lived in it for three months and a half. During that period, he would frequently meet and talk with sympathisers, who had been witnesses of the terrible sufferings which Master George endured ; and Knox would gladly drink in and treasure every word, which he was told had fallen from the dying lips of his revered teacher. Moreover, as Knox firmly believed that Wishart had the spirit of prophecy, he would assuredly have recorded such a remarkable prediction, if it had been made.

Whether Wishart was tried and executed on the same day, or not, it seems certain enough that he was burned on the 1st of March. That is the date emphatically given by Knox, as well as by the old account, and also by Pitcottie. Lesley says, "in the beginning of Merch." The brief entry in the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, dated the 28th of March, bears that a General Council was held in St Andrews, "and thair George Vischart was brunt, and na uther thing done." If it is supposed that he was tried on the 28th of February, and burned next day, a simple slip of the pen would account for the apparent difference in the date.

"After the death of this blissed Martyre of God," says Knox, "begane the people, in plaine

speaking, to dampne and detest the crueltie that was used. Yea, men of great byrth, estimatioun and honour, at open tables avowed, That the blood of the said Maister George should be revenged, or ellis thei should coost lyef for lyef." Ere three months had come and gone, he who had shown no mercy was slain without mercy, by a handful of determined men, in his own stronghold. It does not fall within the scope of my subject to give an account of the tragedy of the 29th of May, 1546; but, before passing from George Wishart, I must briefly refer to the unscrupulous attempts which have been made to implicate him in the plot to seize or slay the Cardinal.

Seldom has such a serious charge been maintained on evidence so slender. The facts are simply these. In April 1544, "a Scottish man called Wysshert" was the bearer of a message from the Laird of Brunstone, to the Earl of Hertford and Henry the Eighth, concerning the plot against Beaton; and, in December 1545, George Wishart was befriended and protected by the same Laird of Brunstone. It need hardly be pointed out that the vague designation "a Scottish man called Wysshert," would apply to many Scotch-men besides the Martyr. And, in point of fact, there were at that time, Wisharts not only in the Mearns, but also in Dundee, and in Ayrshire; and among these, it has been shown, there were other George Wisharts; so that even although the first name of Brunstone's messenger had been given, and had been the same, it would not have proved that he was the same individual as the Martyr. The mere fact that Master George and Brunstone were acquainted eighteen months afterwards proves nothing. Yet, on this evidence, Tytler and Hill Burton, and a shoal of smaller fry, have dared to cast a stain on the reputation of the Martyr. But, it may be safely affirmed that no jury would convict even a notoriously bad man on such

evidence—evidence which would be utterly scouted in a court of justice, if brought against one of irreproachable character. Even although the evidence had been ten times stronger, it would not have been conclusive against such a man as Wishart, who, like his Master, was continually doing good.

It is quite unnecessary to enter into a lengthened vindication of the Martyr, that has been ably and successfully done by Professor Weir, in the *North British Review*, nineteen years ago. His arguments are many and varied, and with one exception are unanswerable. I shall content myself, by stating, in a few sentences, some of the arguments that may, or have been, adduced. The "credence," or oral message, of which the "Scottish man called Wvshart" was the bearer, consisted in two points; the first related to the scheme of seizing or slaying the Cardinal; and the other was a proposal that the English King should give money enough to keep a thousand or fifteen hundred men for a month or two. These men were to join with the power of the Earl Marishal and others, and, when the English army was in Scotland, were to destroy the Abbey and Town of Arbroath, being the Cardinal's, and all the other bishops' and abbots' houses and lands, on that side of the water thereabouts, and to apprehend the principal impugnors of the peace between England and Scotland. Will any unprejudiced, reasonable man believe that the gentle George Wishart was capable of carrying such a message—a message propounding a scheme of widespread destruction, and that might involve many lives? This would have been utterly unlike the man, who, by his pacific counsels at the churches of Ayr and Mauchline, showed that he abhorred strife; who at once returned to the plague-stricken town, because the inhabitants were in trouble; who counted himself no better than a dead man, when prevented from labouring for

the instruction of others ; and who manifested the spirit of forgiveness in a most extraordinary degree towards the priestly assassin at Dundee, and also to his accusers and murderers even at the stake ! Besides all this, Master George had been put to the horn, that is, outlawed, and so was liable to summary arrestment and execution. There was little chance, therefore, of Brunstone, or any other plotter, choosing him as a bearer of secret and important despatches, even though he had been willing to carry them. It is quite in keeping with the general treatment, which Hill Burton has given Wishart, that he has hazarded the remark, that "the scantiness and coldness of his auditory, and the meagreness of his following, were the great grief of his life !" This, indeed, would have been strange, if true, for, except at his last sermons at Haddington, it is never hinted that he had a small auditory ; while, on the other hand, frequent mention is made of the great multitudes that gathered to hear him. But all attempts to tarnish the reputation of this true Evangelist, holy Confessor and faithful Martyr, have signally failed ; and, instead of clouding his fair fame, the unfriendly and malignant assailants have only laid themselves open to deserved reproach.



JOHN ROUGH.

"At all times, a man who will do faithfully, needs to believe firmly."—*Carlyle*.

The subject of this brief biography was not distinguished for great scholarship, nor brilliant talents; but he was richly gifted with homely vigour, intense earnestness, and sound judgment; and, by "the good hand of his God upon him," he was enabled to advance the cause of truth, and to witness for it even unto death.

Little is known of the birth or early years of John Rough, except that he was a native of Scotland; that he was born in or about 1508; that he was incorporated as a student in St Leonard's College in 1521; and that at the age of seventeen—to despite some of his friends who tried to deprive him of his inheritance—he became a black-friar at Stirling. In that order he is said to have remained for sixteen years. Twice he visited Rome; and on both of these occasions, he was probably sent on some business of his monastery, or order. Like many others who went to the Eternal City, he got his eyes opened.

It was on the 22d of December, 1542, eight days after the death of James the Fifth, that the Earl of Arran was chosen Regent of Scotland; and, on the 13th of the following March, his appointment was confirmed by Parliament. Soon after the first of these dates, he procured Rough as his chaplain, who received "ane gown, doublet, hoiss, and bonet." Knox states that when Arran was established in the Government, godly men repaired to him, and at their desire, more than his own, Thomas Guillian, or Williams, a black-friar, was called to be preacher. "The man," says Knox, "was of solid judgement, reassnable letteris (as for that age), and of a prompt and good utter-

ance : his doctrine was holsum, without great vehemency against superstitioun." But Knox immediately adds—"Preached also sometymes Johnne Rowght, (who after, for the veritie of Christ Jesus, suffered in England, in the dayis of Marie of cursed memorie,) albeit not so learned, yett more sempill, and more vehement against all impietie." Their preaching raised much opposition. It provoked against them, and the Regent, the hatred of those who loved darkness better than light. The grey-friars, says Knox, "rowped as thei had bein ravinis, yea, rather thei yelled and rored as devillis in hell, 'Heresy ! Heresy ! Guyliame and Rought will cary the Governour to the Devill.'" Perhaps, they thought that they had good cause to be angry, as it was at this time that Parliament sanctioned the reading of the Bible in the vernacular. The preachers, however, had a foe more powerful and crafty than the black-friars. "The Cardinall moved boith heavin and hell to trouble the Governour, and to stay the preaching; but yitt was the battell stowtlye foughtin for a seassone; for he was tackin, and was put first in Dalkeith, after in Seatoun. But at lenth by buddis [*i.e.* bribes] gevin to the said Lord Seatoun, and to the old Larde of Lethingtoun, he was restored to Sanctandross, frome whense he wrought all myscheif."

John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, and bastard brother of the Regent, returned to Scotland in April 1543, and his evil influence was speedily felt. Williams was forbidden to preach, and therefore went to England. Rough passed into Kyle, the central district of Ayrshire, lying between the Doon and the Irvine, that "receptakle of Goddis servandis of old." The faithful men, who had given the Regent good counsel, were driven from him either by force or craft. According to Foxe, Rough was sent by Arran to preach in Ayrshire, and continued there for four

years. But the worthy Martyrologist is apparently in error, both regarding the time Rough remained in Ayrshire, and the reason of his going thither. At the furthest, he can only have been there a very little more than three years, and it does not seem that he was sent by Arran. If at one and the same time, Williams had been forbidden to preach, and Rough, the more vehement of the two, sent to proclaim the Gospel in Ayrshire, there must have been some special reason for such a step—some cause why the one preacher was silenced, and the other encouraged. No adequate reason has been given, and there can be little doubt that Williams went to England and Rough to Kyle for the same object, to wit, to find an asylum where they could live in safety, and still work for the Master they loved so well. This is plainly implied in the narrative of Knox, and, on such points, his authority is of far more weight than Foxe's. And Sadler says expressly, on the 22nd of April 1543, that the Governor hath not only put away "his friers preachers," whom he hath all this while defended, and kept about him to preach the Word of God, but hath also secretly sent to the Cardinal. The Regent's apostasy then was the common cause why they left the Court. Although they were thus rudely severed, their work was still one, and was peculiarly united in him, who was destined to be the Reformer of Scotland. Williams had the singular honour of being the first man from whom Knox received any taste of the truth; and, as will presently be seen, it was Rough who had the privilege of calling Knox to the ministry.

Cardinal Beaton was slain on Saturday morning, the 29th of May 1546. "Divers," says Spotswood, "upon the news of the Cardinals death, came and joined with those that had killed him, especially Mr Henry Balnaves, the Melvilles of the house of Raith, and some gentlemen of Fife, to the number of seven score persons, who all entered

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build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in churches made with men's hands." In defence, he proved, from the words of Solomon and Job, that God, indeed, could not be comprehended in one place, because infinite; yet he added, "I never said that churches should be destroyed, but, on the contrary, I affirm ever, that churches should be sustained and upholden; that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, wheresoever is true preaching of the Word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself; so that both these sayings are true together—God cannot be comprehended in any place; and, Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in His name, there is He present in the midst of them." Again he challenged his accuser, if he thought otherwise, to show his reasons. What an excellent opportunity this would have been for Lauder to cast the Dundee riots in his teeth, if, as has been recently asserted, he was responsible for them, or connected with them in any way. But without answering one word, the accuser proceeded with the next article. The last charge brought against Wishart probably astonished him most—"Thou, false heretic! hast preached openly, saying, that the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day." From the depth of his heart, he answered—"God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive them that say such things of me! I wot and know surely by the Word of God, that he who hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believeth firmly in Him, I know surely that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life."

Wishart's "godly answers and true reasons" carried no conviction to the hearts of his judges, to whom his condemnation was a foregone conclu-

sion. When found guilty and worthy of death as a heretic, he poured out his soul in prayer to God, pleading, although His true servants must needs suffer, for His name's sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life, that He would conserve, defend, and help His congregation, chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them grace to be His true servants. The common people were ever anxious to hear Wishart, and so it was not until they had been got out of the Cathedral that "the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive." George Buchanan, Pit-scottie, Calderwood, and Spotswood tell that the Cardinal had asked the Governor to send a criminal judge to endorse their sentence; but the Governor, moved by Hamilton of Preston, instead of complying, desired him to postpone the trial, else the blood would be on his head, which answer aggravated the Cardinal and hastened his action. After the sentence was passed, the victim was taken back to the Castle, until the fire was made ready.

The old account does not specify the time that elapsed between the condemnation and execution; but its perusal leaves the impression that they were events of the same day. In that account it is stated that two grey-friars came to the Castle, and said that he must make his confession to them. To whom he answered, go fetch me the man that preached *this day*, and I will make my confession unto him. Wynram was brought with all diligence, "but," the writer adds, "what he said in this confession, I cannot show." According to Buchanan, Pit-scottie, and Spotswood, the friars were sent next morning, and he asked for the man who preached the *day before*. These writers profess also to relate the outcome of the affecting interview. Wishart consented to partake of the sacrament, if dispensed according to Christ's institution. Wynram asked permission of the clergy,

not this your charge to me? And do ye not approve this vocation?" They answered, "It was; and we approve it." The effect on Knox can best be told in his own words—"Whairat the said Johnne, abashed, byrst furth in moist abundant tearis, and withdrew him self to his chalmer. His countenance and behavement, fra that day till the day that he was compelled to present himself to the publick place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of myrrh of him, neyther yitt had he pleasure to accompany any man, many dayis together."

Knox goes on to explain the necessity which, besides this calling, led him "to enter in the publick place." Dean John Annand, Principal of St Leonard's—but "a rottin Papist"—had long troubled Rough in his preaching. Knox had fortified the doctrine of the preacher by his powerful pen, and had so thoroughly beaten the Dean from all his defences that he had to betake himself to the authority of the Church, which condemned all Lutherans and heretics, and therefore in his opinion rendered dispute unnecessary. After saying his say in the Town Church, the Dean, on these grounds, declined to argue further. Knox could not stand this. The latent fire was kindled, and he immediately exclaimed that the true Church must be distinguished from the false—the spouse of Christ from spiritual Babylon—and, after affirming that the Church of Rome was the synagogue of Satan, and that the Pope was the man-of-sin, he offered to prove that the Roman Church had now degenerated further from the purity of Apostolic times, than the Jewish Church from the Law of Moses, when it consented to the death of Christ! On hearing this offer, the people cried with one consent—"We cannot all read your writings, but we may all hear your preaching; therefore we require you, in the name of God, that

sion. When found guilty and worthy of death as a heretic, he poured out his soul in prayer to God, pleading, although His true servants must needs suffer, for His name's sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life, that He would conserve, defend, and help His congregation, chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them grace to be His true servants. The common people were ever anxious to hear Wishart, and so it was not until they had been got out of the Cathedral that "the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive." George Buchanan, Pit-scottie, Calderwood, and Spotswood tell that the Cardinal had asked the Governor to send a criminal judge to endorse their sentence; but the Governor, moved by Hamilton of Preston, instead of complying, desired him to postpone the trial, else the blood would be on his head, which answer aggravated the Cardinal and hastened his action. After the sentence was passed, the victim was taken back to the Castle, until the fire was made ready.

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were read to him. Knox was thereafter called, and, in the discussion which ensued, he upheld the Protestant side. Wynram argued until he grew dry, and then a grey friar took his place. Poor man, he had no better proof for Purgatory than the authority of Virgil, and he believed that the pains thereof were "ane evill wyff." After this the Papists lost taste for discussion; but, to exclude Knox and Rough from the Town Church, they arranged that the learned men of the University and Priory should preach alternately in it on the Sabbaths. Knox discerned the object, and preached on the week-days, with such success that all those of the Castle, and a great number of the citizens, openly professed their faith by partaking of the Lord's Supper, which was dispensed by him then as purely as it ever has been in Scotland.

The priests and bishops were so enraged at those proceedings that they gave the Regent, the Queen Mother, and the Privy Council, no peace, until they knew that the French were coming to besiege the Castle. On the 29th of June 1547, the foreign fleet arrived in the Bay, and on the last day of July the Castle was rendered to them. Knox and its other inmates were carried to France; but Rough had left St Andrews before the arrival of the French, or, at anyrate, before the capitulation of the Castle, and so escaped.

Various reasons are given for Rough leaving St Andrews. Foxe says that, at last, weighing with himself his own danger, and also abhorring the idolatry and superstition of his country, and hearing of the freedom of the Gospel in England, he resolved to tarry no longer in St Andrews. Spotswood says, he left because he was grieved with the wicked and licentious lives of the inmates of the Castle. Probably, both Foxe and Spotswood are correct, so far as their respective statements go, and the one may be taken as supplementing the other. That Spots-

alson. When found guilty and worthy of death as a heretic, he poured out his soul in prayer to God, pleading, although His true servants must needs suffer, for His name's sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life, that He would conserve, defend, and help His congregation, chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them grace to be His true servants. The common people were ever anxious to hear Wishart, and so it was not until they had been got out of the Cathedral that "the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive." George Buchanan, Pit-scottie, Calderwood, and Spotswood tell that the Cardinal had asked the Governor to send a criminal judge to endorse their sentence; but the Governor, moved by Hamilton of Preston, instead of complying, desired him to postpone the trial, else the blood would be on his head, which answer aggravated the Cardinal and hastened his action. After the sentence was passed, the victim was taken back to the Castle, until the fire was made ready.

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coming to see a play at the Saracen's Head in Islington, had prepared a communion to be celebrated and received there, among certain other seditious and heretical persons ;" and that "the Queen's highness hath willed us to remit him unto your lordship, to the end that being called before you out of prison, as oft as your lordship shall think good, ye may proceed, both to his further examination, and otherwise ordering of him according to the laws, as the case shall require."

Three days later he was accordingly conveyed from Newgate to Bonner's palace, and twelve articles were laid to his charge, of which the principal have been preserved by Foxe. In reply to these articles, he acknowledged that he had said that there were only two sacraments, and that the other five were not sacraments : that confession should not be made to the priest, unless he were the party offended : that he did not like the Latin service, but approved of the service used in the latter part of Edward's reign : that he had "by word, writing, and deed, set forward, taught, and preached the same openly, and in sundry places affirmed that the said English service, and doctrine therein contained, is agreeable in all points to God's Word, and unto the truth : " that he had approved the doctrine of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, concerning the Lord's Supper, affirming that after the words of consecration the material bread and wine remained without any transubstantiation : that he well liked the communion used in Edward's days, but had not ministered or received the same in England since the Queen's accession, and knew of none in England who had the books, although he knew many on the Continent who had them, and there he had received the communion in sundry places : that, in different parts of the realm, he had spoken against the Pope and his apostolic see, whose authority he despised, and of whose doctrine he disapproved :

and that he had been familiar with a hundred English men and women, who had fled to Friesland, with whose opinions he agreed, as well as with their using there of Edward's order, but he denied having brought their books and letters to England.

This was a good deal to confess frankly to those persecutors, who had his life in their hands, and who, he knew, would not hesitate to take it. But he told them more. He said that he had been at Rome for thirty days or more, and had seen little or no good there, but very much that was evil; in particular, he had seen the Pope carried on the shoulders of four men as if he had been God; that he had seen a cardinal's harlot riding openly behind him; and a Pope's bull which expressly licensed the keeping and frequenting of stews. Foxe states that, on Rough saying this, Bonner rushed upon him in fury, and tore out the half of his beard! A good token of his fitness to preside over a court with judicial calmness! Since his return to England, Rough said, he had prayed, and read such prayers and services as are appointed in the Book of the Communion, in sundry places in the suburbs of London, and willed others to do the like; and, though he had never caused any to withdraw from the Latin service, he had stated that it was better to pray in a known than an unknown tongue. He seems to have acknowledged that he was present on Sabbath, the 12th of December, at the Saracen's Head, to hear and see a play, and with several others was apprehended there; but denied that they had met to read the Communion Book, and to use the accustomed fashion of the latter days of King Edward. Perhaps, their enemies thought that they could not meet without dispensing the Lord's Supper.

Spotswood, who gives more prominence to Rough than might have been expected, and calls

him a "worthy minister and martyr of Christ," makes him assert that he had not preached, and gives enough of his answers to show that he approved of King Edward's prayer-book, and had read it where godly people were assembled. Skinner, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, manifests his dislike to Presbyterianism, and his regard for Episcopal ordination, in his remarks on Knox's call to the ministry, and speaks of Rough as a "volunteer." In dealing with Rough's martyrdom, he quotes from Spotswood only, and, after describing him as "one of our first Reformers and a clergyman," proceeds to observe, with evident satisfaction, that "he approved the English liturgy, and consequently was not against set forms of prayer;" and that "he looked upon reading prayers in an assembly of godly people to be more his duty as a clergyman, than preaching, which is contrary to the tenets of those among us who boast of being the only followers of our first Reformers, and look upon preaching and hearing sermons as the essential ingredient of what they call worship." A good cause never requires the perversion of facts.

After hearing Rough's answers, Bonner dismissed him for the day, but had him brought up again on the morrow, which was the Sabbath. His straight-forwardness had not tended to save him on the 18th; and now, on the 19th, when his constancy was perceived, the Bishop determined to bring him openly into the consistory on the 20th, and there condemn him as a heretic. On Monday afternoon he was therefore produced, and on this occasion the Bishop of St David's was among those present. "After much and many fair persuasions," says Foxe, "Bonner read unto him the articles and answers before mentioned, in the which they charged him to have received the orders of the Church, and therefore might not marry; and that he had refused to consent unto the Latin service

then used in the Church." In his reply, he said, "that their orders were nothing at all, and that he, being a priest, might lawfully marry, and that his children which he had by his wife were lawful; and as for the service, which he utterly detested," he said, "that if he should live as long as Methuselah, yet he would never come to the church to hear the abominable mass, and other service, being as it was then." Immediately after this answer, Bonner proceeded to the actual degradation of Rough, "exempting him from all the benefits and privileges of their Church; and, after condemning him as a heretic, committed his body to the secular power, who, taking him into their charge and custody, carried him to Newgate."*

Two of the letters he wrote after this have been preserved by Foxe; and, as the elder M'Crie says, they breathe the true spirit of a Martyr. The first was hastily written, from Newgate Prison, on the day of his condemnation. In it, he says:—"Look not back, nor be ye ashamed of Christ's Gospel, nor of the bond I have suffered for the same! It is no time for the loss of one man in the battle, for the camp to turn back!" The other letter was written to the congregation on the same day. In the course of it, he says:—"Happy are they that die in the Lord, which is to die in the faith of Christ, professing and confessing the same before many witnesses. . . . What a journey (by God's power) I have made these eight days before this day, it is above flesh and blood to bear; but, as Paul saith, I may

* Foxe records a curious incident in the trial, which is worth repeating. In the days of King Edward, when Rough served in the north of England, Dr Watson preached a sermon there, which got him into trouble, and his life was only saved by Rough's intercession. One good turn deserves another; but Watson, who had now become Bishop of Lincoln, repaid Rough by declaring that he was a "pernicious heretic, who did more hurt in the north parts than a hundred besides of his opinion!"

do all things in Him, which worketh in me, Jesus Christ. My course, brethren, have I run ; I have fought a good fight, the crown of righteousness is laid up for me, my day to receive it is not long to. Pray, brethren, for the enemy doth yet assault. Stand constant unto the end ; then shall ye possess your souls. . . . I go before ; I suffer first the baiting of the butcher's dogs, but I have not done what I should have done : but my weakness, I doubt not is supplied in the strength of Jesus Christ, and your wisdom and learning will accept that small talent, which I have distributed unto you (as I trust) as a faithful steward : and what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance. . . . The Spirit of God guide you, in and out, rising and sitting, cover you with the shadow of His wings, defend you against the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily unto the port of eternal felicity, where all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, and you shall always abide with the Lamb."

Margaret Mearing, who had been a member of the congregation, had by her manner led Rough and other members to suspect that she was a spy, and accordingly she was excluded by him from the company, on the Friday before he was apprehended. In anger she threatened to be revenged, but on learning that Rough had been arrested, and that none of his friends were allowed to visit him in the Gate-house at Westminster, she, feigning herself to be his sister, got into the prison, and did what she could to comfort him. Next Friday, she, too, was apprehended, and was condemned on the same day as her minister. On Wednesday, the 22d of December 1557—ten days after Rough's apprehension—five after her's—they were led together to Smithfield to be burned ; and there, early in the dark winter morning, they "most joyfully gave their lives for the profession of Christ's Gospel."

Thus it was that this worthy Scotchman, after his singularly chequered career, entered into his rest. A fierce and bigoted Popish writer, Thomas Dempster, has been pleased to brand him as "an implous and vile apostate;" but from such a quarter censure is better than praise. In all likelihood, when Rough was a student at St Leonard's, he would meet Patrick Hamilton; after twenty years had passed, he was privileged to water the good seed which that Martyr had sown in St Andrews, and also to call Knox to the ministry, in the same City; and, after another ten years had elapsed, he, too, gained the Martyr's crown.

Three months later, his dream-despising-deacon, Outhbert Symson, after being terribly tortured, was burnt with Hugh Foxe, and John Devenish, who were apprehended with him. Strenuous efforts were made to compel the faithful Outhbert to give up the names of the congregation, but he would not. "They had laid hold of a man whom no terrors could shake—no agony could move." Even Bonner, amazed at his heroic endurance, said, "If he were not a heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that yet ever came before me: for I tell you, he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower; also in my house, he hath felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken." The persecution in Scotland was dreadful enough; but its victims were few in number compared with those in England. During the short reign of Bloody Mary, "as many as two hundred and eighty-eight persons, of all ranks and orders," says Hardwick, "perished at the stake, the greater part for their abandonment of Mediævalism and their adherence to the doctrine of the English Reformation."

GEORGE WINCHESTER.

"My native land ! my fatherland !
I hail thee, ere the sea
Rolls in its broad blue waves between
Thy dear loved shores and me.

"I loved thee too when, from thy heights,
I watched the restless sea ;
But dreamed not then, O sea ! thou'dst part
My own loved land and me."

Eyslop.

Wishart's prediction that not many should suffer after him, until the glory of God evidently appeared, was strikingly fulfilled ; for, although the spirit of persecution did not die with Cardinal Beaton, few were afterwards brought to the stake. In the month of March 1546-7, while Rough was preaching at St Andrews, and before Knox had taken refuge in the Castle, a General Convention of the clergy met in Edinburgh. From the *Register of the Privy Council*, it appears that they petitioned the Governor and Lords of the Great Council to give their speedy help in repressing heresy. In the petition, it is stated that sundry parts of the realm, which had ever been Catholic from the beginning of the faith "to thir daies," were "now infectit with that pestilencious hereseis of Luther, his sect and followaris," who persevered unpunished, until divers of them openly disputed against the sacraments ; while others, who had abjured, and relapsed, and been banished, now came pertly, without any dread, not only in distant parts of the country, but at the very Court, and in presence of the lords, openly preached and taught their "dampnable hereseis." The clergy urged that, if the Governor and lords did not remedy the same, "it will spred, increse, and ryse dalie mair and mair, and ay the langer the mair difficult to remeid." On the 19th of March, the

Governor and temporal lords ordained and desired the kirkmen to give in the names of relapsed heretics, of those that held opinions against the "sacramentis of the alter," and of those that taught heresy, in order that the laws of the realm should be executed against them.

Arch-bishop Hamilton was not enthroned at St Andrews as Cardinal Beaton's successor until July 1549. He summoned a General Convention and Provincial Council of the clergy to meet in Edinburgh in the following November, when sixty-eight statutes were unanimously approved and ratified. In the words of Joseph Robertson—"They were prefaced by a remarkable confession, that the root and cause of the troubles and heresies which afflicted the Church were the corruption, the profane lewdness, the gross ignorance of churchmen of almost all ranks. The clergy, therefore, were enjoined to put away their concubines, under pain of deprivation of their benefices; to dismiss from their houses the children born to them in concubinage; not to promote such children to benefices, nor to enrich them, the daughters with dowries, the sons with baronies, from the patrimony of the Church. Prelates were admonished not to keep in their households manifest drunkards, gamblers, whoremongers, brawlers, night-walkers, buffoons, blasphemers, profane swearers. The clergy, in general, were exhorted to amend their lives and manners, to dress modestly and gravely, to live soberly and frugally, so as to have more to spare for the poor; to abstain from secular pursuits, especially trading." Although they were thus constrained to admit that they themselves were to blame for the spread of heresy, they took care that the antidote should be something more than the amendment of their own lives. They made provision for preaching to the people, and, what was probably considered more to the purpose, "Strict inquest for heresy was ordered to be made by every

ordinary in his diocese, by every abbot or prior in his convent. That the inquest might be the more effectual, the inquisitors were supplied with a schedule of the chief points of heresy. . . . Heretical books, especially poems and ballads against the Church or clergy, were to be diligently sought after and burned."

The search for heresy was no mere formality. Next summer, Adam Wallace, who taught the Laird of Ormiston's children after they were deprived of Knox's services, was seized by the Archbishop of St Andrews, tried in Edinburgh, and burned on the Castle Hill. Others saved themselves by flight. It was hard for a man to leave his kindred and his country for accepting the truth; and the hardship was not lessened by the fact that all his goods were seized. In an extremely interesting and able article, in the current number of the *English Historical Review*, on "Confiscation for Heresy in the Middle Ages," it is shown that but for the plunder obtained in this way, the machinery of the Inquisition could not have been kept in motion.

About the same time that Wallace was burned, Hamilton cited one of his own citizens to appear before him. Unfortunately, little is known of this Confessor, whose name even is not to be found in any of the common histories. As George Winchester of Kinglassie was not anxious to appear before the Archbishop, he fled when summoned. Having been tried and convicted in absence, all his goods were forfeited to the Crown; but were acquired, in September 1550, by his brother-in-law, William Arthur, who was also a citizen of St Andrews. In Martine's *Reliquie*, it is stated that Winchester's posterity reported, that he was charged with having and reading a Bible in English. From the extract which M'Crie has printed from the *Register of the Privy Seal*, it appears that Arthur obtained "the gift of the

eschait of all gudis, movable and unmovable, dettis, takkis, steiddingis, rowmes, possessions, teyndis, cornis, catale, actiones, obligationis, sowmes of money, and utheris gudis quhatsumevir, quhilkis pertenis to George Wynchistir." In the *Reliquie*, it is said that Arthur also got his "tenement and fair house in St Andrews." Arthur was more than a citizen of St Andrews, for he is likewise described as William Arthur of Cairns; and Dr M'Orie, who had access to the Genealogical Collections of Martine of Claremont, gives an extract to show that Arthur, by a disposition dated the 27th of August 1555, "out of pity to Christian Martine" (wife of George Winchester), "and her eight fatherless children, disposed to her in liferent the fore-tenement and tacks of Kinglame and Polduff, sometime pertaining to the said George, with his hail movables, fallen in escheat, upon her paying to him the composition that he paid therefor." The exile had probably died far from his wife and family, and "fair house in St Andrews;" but his example in enduring reproach and hardship for the Gospel was better far than worldly goods for his children. In all likelihood, Alexander Winchester of Polduff, who is mentioned in Gladstone's charter in 1614 as Provost of the City of St Andrews, was the grandson of the sufferer. To the present day, Polduff, which is about three miles from St Andrews, is entered in the *Valuation Roll* as "Winchester's Polduff." By the people in the neighbourhood, it is abbreviated into "Winster's Polduff," and sometimes simply "Winster."

WALTER MYLN.

"Lo ! it comes ! the mist hath risen—
Martyr pyres the gloom dispel ;
Scotland wakes, and bursts her prison,
Lighted by the flames of hell !"

Mrs Stuart Monticath.

Although George Winchester escaped from the fiery faggots and the burning charity of the Archbishop, St Andrews was destined to be the scene of another martyrdom. Of Walter Myln, or Mill as his name is sometimes written, very little is known except his trial and death. As he was eighty-two years of age when he was burned, he must have been born in or about 1476, while Patrick Graham, the Archbishop of St Andrews was pining in prison. It has been supposed that he was born near Arbroath, and that he was educated partly at that Abbey, and partly at Aberdeen or St Andrews ; but there is no direct proof on these points. It is certain, however, that he was the priest of Lunan—a parish on the sea-coast between Arbroath and Montrose—where he laboured with much acceptance, according to Pitsoctie, for twenty years. Having refused to say mass, he was cited by Cardinal Beaton, but fled, and, along with John Petrie, was condemned in absence. He had travelled in Germany—whether before or after his work at Lunan is not quite clear—and there he had probably got some light. So thoroughly did he cast off the principles of the Papacy, that, although a priest, he married a wife, who survived him for many years.* After

* That his widow long survived him "appears from a payment in the Accounts of the Collector General of Thirds of Benefices, 1573, when there was paid 'To the relict of umquhille Walter Myln, according to the allowance of the old comptis, £6, 13s 4d.'" Laing's *Knows*, vol. i, p. 550.

being condemned by the Cardinal, he appears to have gone quietly about the country, reproving vice and instructing people in the grounds of religion. At length he was captured at Dysart by two priests, George Strachan* and Hugh Terry, and was quickly conveyed to St Andrews Castle, where efforts of every kind were made to induce him to recant; but threats and bribes were alike useless—he would neither be drawn nor driven. His constancy was marvellous, as he was decrepit as well as old. Buchanan describes him as “a weak old man, oppressed by years and poverty.” If ever any one acted on the Apostolic precept, he did, “Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong.”

A goodly number of bishops, abbots, doctors of theology, and friars, convened with the Archbishop in the Cathedral to try Myln, towards the end of April 1558. Among them were Patrick Hepburn, John Wynram, and John Greson. Hepburn, who had so cruelly oppressed Alesius, was now Bishop of Moray and Abbot of Scone. He was still as blood-thirsty as ever, and Knox assigns as one of the reasons why the people of Dundee sacked the Abbey of Scone, in 1559, “that by his counsals alone was Walter Mylne, our brother, put to death.” As is well known, Wynram had long favoured the Reformed doctrine. Greson, who was at the head of the black-friars in Scotland, in less than two years after this trial, openly and emphatically renounced the errors of the Pope, in the Town Church, declaring that he repented of them “fra the bodowm” of his heart.

* Strachan was a native of Dysart and vicar of that parish. “After the Reformation, he entered into an agreement with Lord Sinclair for making salt; and it appears that he also cultivated some land, probably his patrimonial acres. He was evidently wealthy, but most unwilling to part with money, as he allowed judgment in several actions to go against him by default.”—*Local Records of Dysart*, 1853, p. 4.

When brought to the Cathedral, Myln was so weak that he had to be helped into the pulpit ; but, to the amazement of all, when he began to speak, he made the vast building ring and sound again.

While he knelt in prayer, Sir Andrew Oliphant, a priest, cried to him :—" Sir Walter Myln arise, and answer to the articles ; for you hold my lord here over-long ! " The aged victim replied—" We ought to obey God more than men ; I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord. And whereas ye call me Sir Walter, call me Walter, and not Sir Walter ; I have been over-long one of the Pope's knights ! " From this it appears that Myln had never taken the degree of M.A. Those who had taken the bachelor's degree and were in priest's orders were designated Sir, not as an academical title, but to distinguish them from those who had taken the more coveted degree.

Foxe has preserved the articles and the answers. On being questioned as to what he thought of the marriage of priests, he boldly said that he held marriage as a blessed bond approved by Christ, and by Him made free to all men. " But you," he continued, " think it not free to you ; ye abhor it, and in the meantime take other men's wives and daughters ; and will not keep the bond that God hath made. Ye vow chastity and break the same ! " Oliphant then charged him with saying that there were not seven sacraments. He retorted, " Give me the Lord's Supper and baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you ! " Oliphant proceeded — " Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry." By way of reply he merely said—" A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner ; and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring the bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner ; but the lord, turning his back unto

them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them: so do ye." But Oliphant persisted, "Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood." Without hesitation, he boldly answered, "The Scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and standeth in faith only. And as for the mass, it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then He ended all sacrifice." Plainly he spoke, too, regarding their bishops and the evils of pilgrimages. On Oliphant declaring — "Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields," he answered, "Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship!" On being demanded whether he would not recant, else sentence would be pronounced against him, he replied, "I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, What thou doest, do quickly. Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff: I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both!"

Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge and burned as a heretic; but the Provost of the City refused to act as his secular judge. Neither would the Archbishop's chamberlain "take upon him so ungodly an office"; and so an underling had to be pressed into the service. No citizen of St Andrews would sell a tar barrel to burn him, nor a rope to tie him to the stake, and so the cords of the Archbishop's pavilion had to be taken. By armed men he was conveyed to the fire, on the north side of the Cathedral,* and by his priestly ac-

* In one of the monumental inscriptions quoted in the Appendix, it is erroneously stated that he was burned in the "Market-place" and Lyon, who has been followed by Rogers and Gordon, says that it was in front of the Penda. No authority has been, or can be, given in support of either of these assertions. That he

cuser forbidden to address the spectators. But some of the onlookers committed the bishops and the burners to the Devil, and desired the intrepid Confessor to speak what he pleased. Standing on the coals, so soon to consume his frail body, he delivered his last testimony with courage and faithfulness. His last words were, "Lord, have mercy on me! Pray, people, while there is time!" The spectators were not only moved and stirred, but their hearts were so inflamed, that the hope which he expressed was realised—he was the last who was burned for the cause in Scotland. Out of his ashes, says Foxe, sprang thousands of his opinion and religion. According to Spotswood and Petrie, his death was the very death of Popery in this realm, for the minds of men were so enraged that they resolved to profess the truth openly, and bound themselves, by promises and oaths, to defend by arms any of their brethren who might be called in question for their faith.

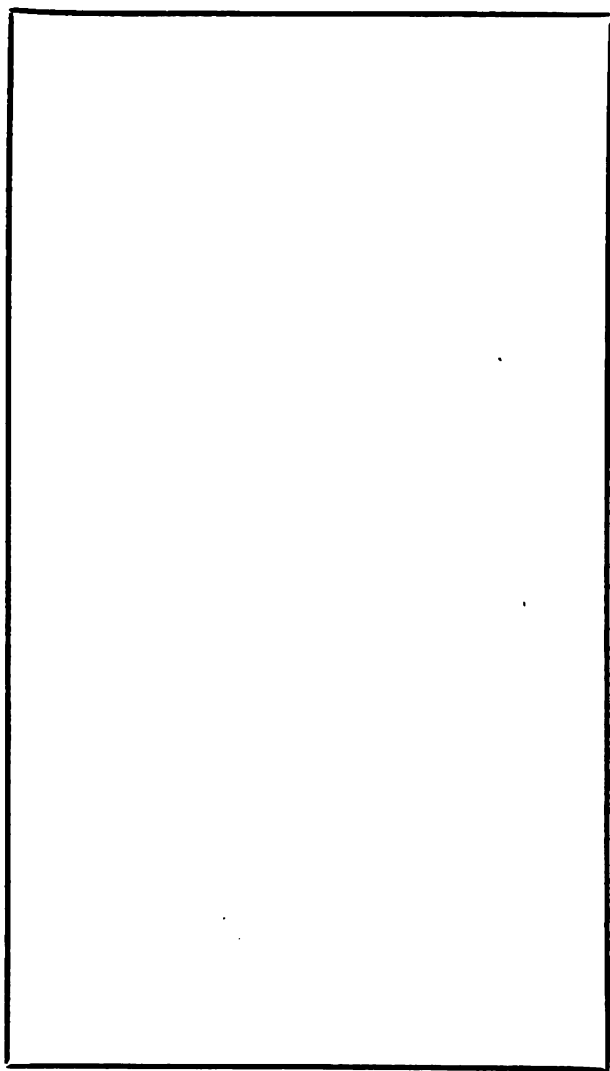
To mark the spot of his final suffering and triumph, the people raised a great heap of stones. Once and again the cairn was thrown down, and cursing threatened against any who should rebuild it; but all in vain, until the stones were stolen away by night. The spot was soon marked in another way. It was on the 28th of April 1558 that Walter Myln was burned.* In

suffered on the north side of the Cathedral is proved by the explicit statement of Pitscottie; and that old writer is corroborated by the author of the *Historie of the Estate of Scotland*, printed in the *Wodrow Miscellany*.

* Foxe and Pitscottie both state that he was tried on the 20th of April; but some time apparently elapsed before the sentence was carried out, owing to the difficulty of getting a secular judge. Knox distinctly states that he was put to death by fire on "the twenty awcht day of April," 1558. By a slip of the pen, doubtless, the elder M'Crie has said the 28th of August, and in one place Laing has evidently been misled by the slip. The epitaph in the Appendix, which places it on the "tertio Kalendas Maii," instead of the "quarto Kalendas Maii," is a day wrong. It is Pitscottie who relates that he stated his age at "four score and two years."

June of the following year, Knox preached his famous sermon in St Andrews, on the casting of the buyers and sellers furth of the temple, with the result that the costly images and similar trash, which had long adorned the Cathedral, and helped to dazzle the blinded devotees, were carried to the scene of Myln's martyrdom, and there burnt to ashes. An innocent mode of revenge truly ! but, with these symbols, the power of the Papacy perished in Scotland.

Well may the present generation regard with feelings of gratitude and admiration the heroic and devoted men, who, by their lives and deaths, broke the baneful spell, and, under God, set their country free from that accursed and intolerant system, which would still ride rough-shod over the liberty and conscience of man.



APPENDIX

Inscriptions on the *Minister's Monument* at St. Andrew's:—

"In memory of the Ministers
Patrick Hamilton, Henry Forrest,
George Withers, and Walter Mill,
who in support of the Protestant Faith
suffered death in fire at St. Andrew's, between
the years 1547 and 1567.
The Righteous shall be in everlasting
Remembrance."

The two following paragraphs were copied by a friend from Knox's Monument at Glasgow Cross-roads:—

"Patrick Hamilton, a youth of high rank and distinguished attainments, was the first Minister in Scotland for the cause of the Reformation. He was condemned to the flames at St. Andrew's in 1528, and the twenty-fourth year of his age."

"In 1540 George Withers returned to Scotland, from which he had been banished, and preached the Gospel in various quarters. In 1561, five heavily-armed men, the friend and instructor of Knox, were also condemned to the flames at St. Andrew's."

The following inscriptions are taken from the Rev. J. Myles Scott's *Ministry of Angus and Mearns*:—

On a granite shaft, covered with an ivy, in the old church-yard of Farnham, overlooking the valley of the Luthar:—"This monument is erected to the memory of one of Scotland's first and most illustrious Ministers, George Withers of Farnham, in this Parish; and as a testimony of gratitude to the great Head of the Church, for the work of the Reformation, in behalf of which his precious blood was shed. He was born in 1513, and was burned at St. Andrew's, 1st March 1561. The righteous shall be laid in everlasting remembrance."

On a monument, which *erose* in Lower church-yard ground in 1561, and which was erected in 1838, by the Rev. John Greville, minister of the Parish from 1796 to 1826, and David Wodder, his wife:—"M. C. Remondelli Gualbert Mill, juris consultus, olim pastoris ecclesiæ, qui veritatis studiosus Jura Christi a Franciscis quondam innotatissimis jam major ætate in hunc Andropoli-tanum loci conatus est hunc Kalendas Maii, MDLVIII. Hoc pos. R. J. G. I. W. 1838."

When the monument, of 1818, was removed, a small white-marble tablet was inserted in the wall of Lunan parish church bearing this inscription :—" Sacred to the memory of Walter Mill, for upwards of forty years pastor of this church, and the last Scottish Martyr for adherence to the Protestant cause. He entered on his ministrations in the days when Popish error prevailed in Scotland; but by Divine grace was brought to a knowledge of the truth; and having faithfully preached the Gospel for many years in the midst of persecution, suffered martyrdom at St Andrews on the 28th day of April, A. D., 1558, in the 63rd year of his age."

In the Supplement to his *Life of Knox*, M'Crie has given copies of the Latin epitaphs on Patrick Hamilton, Alesius, John Rough, and George Wishart, written by John Johnston, who was a Professor in St Mary's from 1593 to 1611.

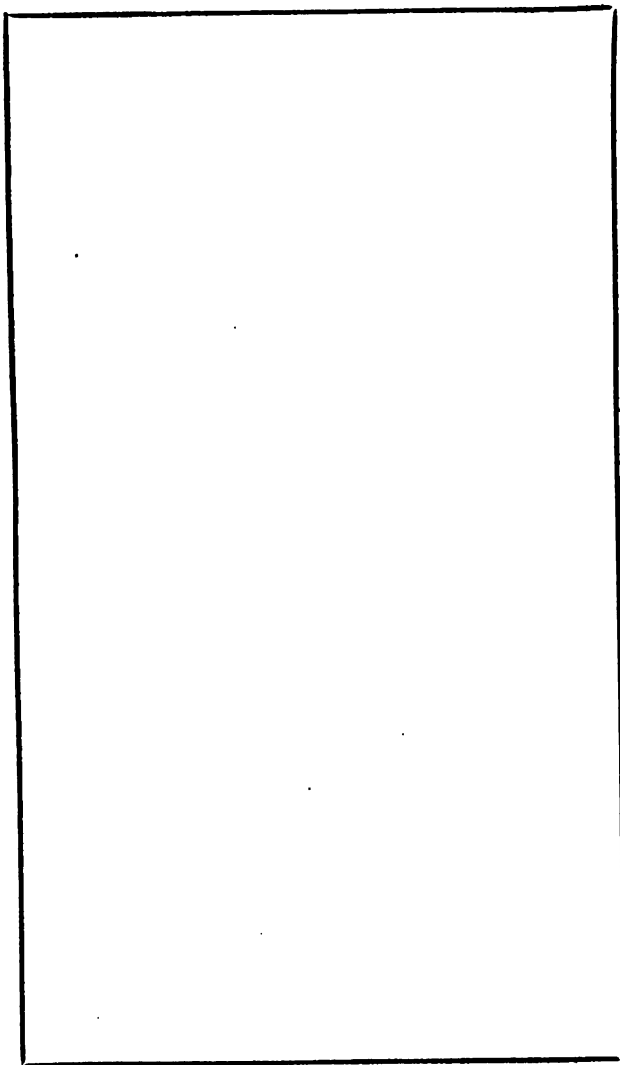
Foxe, Calderwood, and Spotswood have preserved the following epitaph on Walter Myln, which was written by Patrick Adamson, who became the tulchan Arch-bishop of St Andrews in 1576 :—

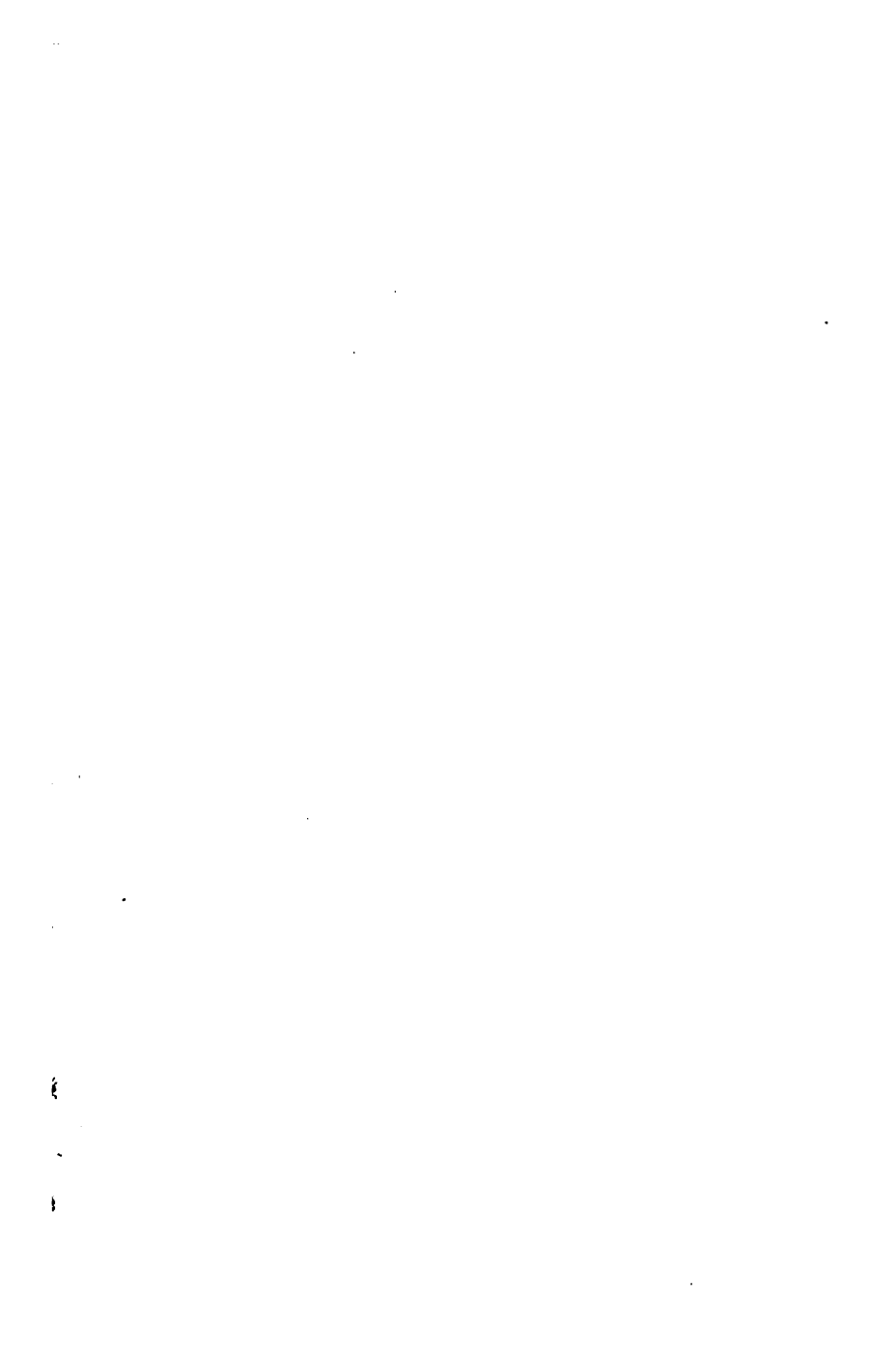
" Non nostra impietas aut actae crimina vitae
Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces.
Sola fides Christi sacris signata libellis,
Quae vitae causa est, est mihi causa necis."

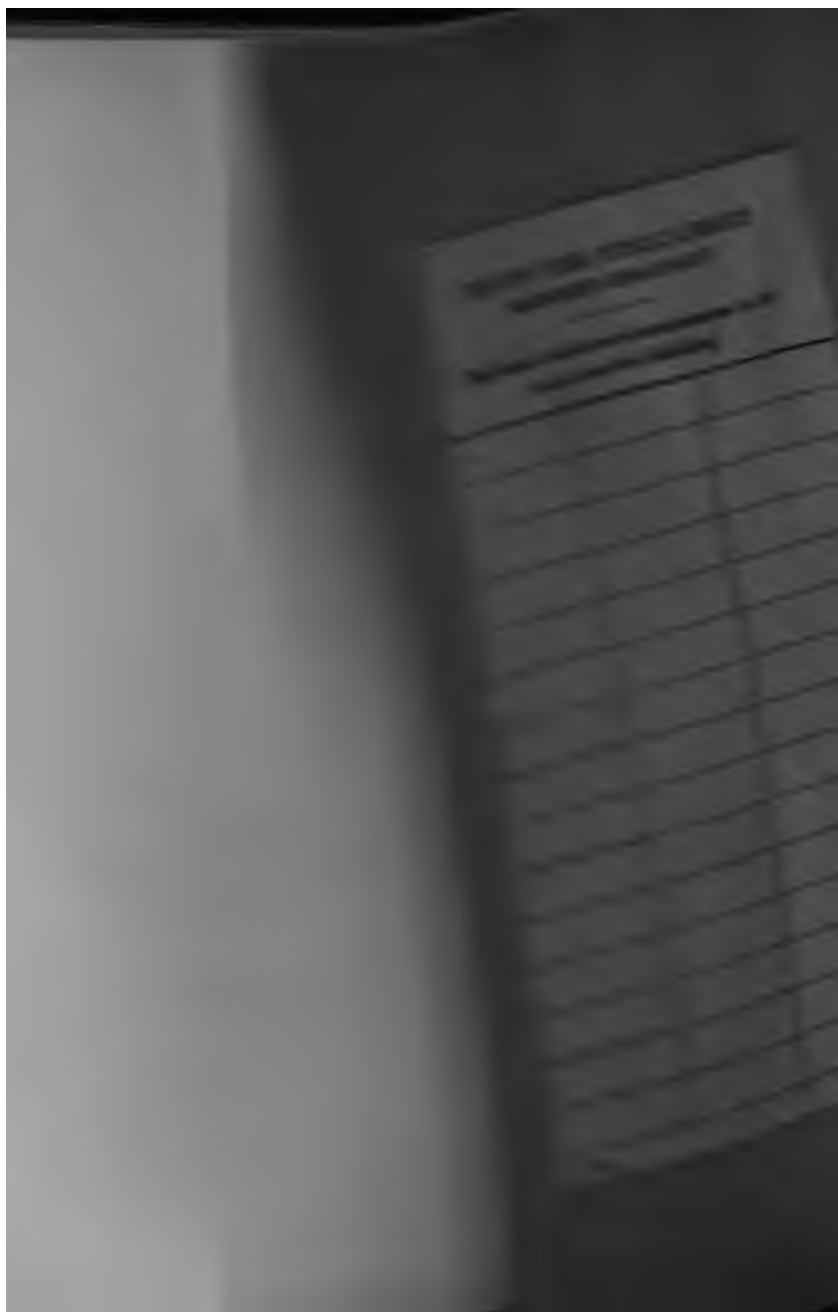
It is said to have been inscribed on a monument in the Grey Friars Church-yard of Edinburgh. Calderwood recorded—"The same in English, by J. L.," as given here,

" Not sinnes or crymes of bypast life,
Make tyrannes seek my death :
Christ's truth is made a fatall knife,
Which to man's saule gives breath."











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